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The Week

THE President's gold policy is having its necessary effects. Purchase of gold abroad (by sale of dollars) reduces the exchange value of the dollar. This, accompanied by knowledge of the intention to depreciate it further, influences the speculators. They speculate on the exchange by selling domestic bonds and buying Canadian, British and French securities. The effect of this is to drive the dollar down against the pound and the franc, perhaps even faster than the government intended. They speculate in commodities and common stock by buying in anticipation of the expected domestic price rise; this gives wheat, cotton and shares an upward tendency. On the evidence, one would say that the money policy is succeeding in its avowed purpose. But at the same time there are less favorable results, also inevitable. As domestic bonds sink, the government faces greater difficulty (though not necessarily insuperable difficulty) in floating loans to carry out its public works, its relief, its reflation at home. The check to the capital market discourages new investment and so hampers reëmployment in the heavy industries. Meanwhile other nations become restive. Eventually they will attempt to counteract dollar depreciation by selling their own currencies or adopting further import restrictions. It will some time be necessary for the President to halt the depreciation of the exchange. Then the speculators will swing to the other tack. Capital will flow back to this country and the dollar will swing rapidly up. Inflated commodity and stock values will collapse, even below the point which the forces of demand and supply warrant. The administration will face a new crisis and a new outcry.

ONE of the most important recent developments in the Roosevelt program is the "Civil Works Administration." During the coming winter, about 4 million men who are now on the unemployment-relief rolls will be taken off them and put to work on such projects as park and playground construction, sanitation, reclamation of public land for roads, pest control and the building of utilities and public structures. About one-half of these persons are now employed under "work relief"; the other half, broadly speaking, are recipients of charity. The average income of the entire group will be raised from $20 a month to $50, for the period of the winter. These men will work thirty hours a week and will receive the standard commercial wages of their communities for the type of activity in which they are engaged. The plan will cost about $600 million, of which $400 million will be advanced from the public-works funds and the remainder by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Cities and counties will be expected to contribute a share, but when such funds are not available, they will be advanced out of the Treasury.

BY THIS action, two-thirds of the persons now being supported from public funds will be given jobs at subsistence wages or better. All the heartbreaking red tape of "investigations" will be abolished. "Made work," as it is now practised, involves no funds for materials; under the new plan, large amounts will be spent in this way, a valuable supplement to the purchases made under the existing public-works program. The danger in this new course is obvious. Some unemployed persons are not physically able to do heavy outdoor labor, and care must be exercised to see that they are not forced to undertake it. Otherwise, the plan seems an admirable one. It will give 4 million families a 150-per-

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cent increase in income, it will mean large orders for materials and will go far toward filling the gap created by the comparative failure of the public-works program to meet expectations.

A GOOD recipe for winning practically all the votes in an election has just been given the world by the amazing Hitler. First use armed bands and thugs to go about terrorizing opponents and, with a minority of the electorate behind you, seize the government. Then abolish all other parties, confiscate their funds, beat up their leaders and put them in concentration camps. Establish a rigid censorship of the press, radio and books. Fill the land with brazen propaganda. Stir the population to a frenzy of fear and hate against foreign powers and then ask the people to vote yes or no on whether they support you against the foreigners. At the same time command them to elect your own candidates—without allowing any others to be nominated. Threaten with dire penalties all who stay away from the polls. Make sure you can identify all who vote by supplying them with buttons. Allow rumors to be spread that the ballot will not really be secret, that anyone who votes against you will be known. The only wonder, under these conditions, is that 3,348,362 Germans, or 7.2 percent of the voters, actually voted against the Nazis. Even the concentration camps in which their political enemies are confined are reported to have given overwhelming majorities to the government! After this splendid demonstration of unanimity, there is only one logical step for Hitler to take. He should say, "Since it is now proved that the German people are a unit behind me, all censorship will be abolished, all restrictions on political activity will be lifted, all threats and violence will cease. It is unnecessary to browbeat so patriotic and brave a people."

THE German dictators, to be sure, will do no such thing, though they profess to see in the outcome of the election a mandate to speak to the world in the name of the German people. They will convene the Reichstag once more as the sounding board for Hitler's ballyhoo, to demand not only equality in the international race for arms but the restoration of Germany's colonial possessions as well. This spurious parliament will issue a new Constitution giving Hitler unlimited power and putting a formal end to the defunct Weimar Constitution. In the field of international politics Germany's rulers, with their usual demagogic skill, will exploit the fact that they have just received the support of more than 90 percent of the nation, nothwithstanding the undeniably menacing significance of more than three million oppositional votes. Indeed, Premier MacDonald's speech last Monday clearly indicated the powerful effect that the mere announcement of the German vote has had upon the statesmen of Europe.

AS Secretary Hull sails for the Pan-American conference at Montevideo, the President announces that he will not be permitted to negotiate on tariffs or currency problems. The warning is scarcely necessary, since few of the other nations concerned would be prepared to do so. International trade has long since passed the stage in which it has a chance of self-regulation according to the principles of laissez-faire. There is no longer a negative question of "removing barriers." It is a positive question of deciding how trade can be controlled to the best advantage of all concerned. But this question cannot be decided by a Pan-American conference, since the nations of the American continents do not trade exclusively or even mainly with one another. How can we talk about these matters with the Argentine, for instance, unless we bring in Great Britain, which has an agreement with the Argentine concerning how much each nation shall buy from the other, about credits and exchange? More than ever, Pan-Americanism is a pious myth, something to make speeches about, which has no existence in reality. Poor Secretary Hull seems doomed to be the representative of ancient and respectable but lost hopes in a remodeled world.

THE hands-off, hands-on policy which we have followed for the last two months in Cuba is at present bearing fruit, and its fruit is anarchy. We have piously announced our hopes for a stable government, and at the same time, by failing to acknowledge the existence of the present government, we have encouraged efforts to overthrow it by violence. We have refused to intervene, and at the same time. by keeping a sizable fleet in Cuban waters, we have offered a constant threat of intervention. To many Cubans, especially those of the propertied classes—the merchants, the small manufacturers, the sugar planters—this threat is a promise. That is one of the two reasons for the revolt early this month—if the rebels could not seize the government, they counted at least on forcing the Marines to land and take possession of Havana. Their double failure hasn't discouraged them. Indeed, if the Grau San Martin Cabinet swings toward the Left, as it shows some promise of doing—if it attempts to gain a broader popular support by releasing radicals from prison and by granting some demands of the labor unions—then the conservative parties now in rebellion are certain to redouble their activities. They have begun to talk openly of murdering American citizens—out of love for America!—out of their overwhelming desire to be ruled by American Marines!

AT PRESENT the United States finds itself in a dilemma. Recognition of the existing Cuban government would imply that it approves that government and will give it moral support—something which Washington apparently is not inclined to do. Continuation of non-recognition will be an invitation to further civil war, and possibly to the assassination of American citizens. This is the sort of trouble that we are bound to get into as long as

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we use recognition as a sign of approval, and non-recognition as a sign of disapproval. The decision whether to recognize or not to recognize becomes, in effect, a form of intervention in other people's domestic affairs. The only safe and sensible policy is the long established historical one of recognizing immediately any de-facto government, no matter whether we like it or not. Even if revolutions occur every twenty-four hours, recognize the new de-facto government every day. That would reduce recognition to its proper place. It should mean simply that we are in communication with a ruling government, whether that is a government by an absolute ruler or by a military adventurer or by representation of the proletariat.

THERE is a chart in The News Digest of the Agricultural Administration for November 4 which should be closely scrutinized not only by the milk farmers but by responsible officials of the government itself. One line traces the course of cash income from dairy products, the other, factory pay rolls. There is a remarkably close correspondence between the two, from the beginning of the chart in January, 1924, to the present time. Cash income of the dairy farmers sank steadily as pay rolls went down during the depression. It sank approximately the same amount, being at the end of 1932 50 percent of the 1924-29 average. Meanwhile cash income from other crops like cotton and grain, which depend more on the international market, sank to 20 percent of the former level. This year, when factory pay rolls started to rise, receipts of the dairy farmers almost immediately started up again. It is a little dangerous to ascribe a cause-and-effect relationship to curves which happen to coincide on a chart, but in this case it is reasonable to infer that the prosperity of the milk-raisers depends more directly on the prosperity of the milk-drinkers than on anything else. The way to rescue the milk industry is to increase the purchasing power of the workers. If every child drank all the milk, if every family ate all the butter, which a decent standard of living demands, all the cow-owners would be contented. The farmers ought to insist that the N.R.A. create a market for their products.

MANY people blame science itself for the desperate condition of the American farmer. On this subject an interesting sidelight is offered by O. E. Baker, in a footnote to his chapter on agricultural and forest land in "Recent Social Trends in the United States." "Scientific research," says Mr. Baker, "particularly the work of the experiment stations, and the dissemination of this knowledge among farmers, has been accused of promoting an excessive agricultural production, and as being one of the causes, therefore, of the very low prices for farm products." But is science really to blame, or is business at fault? "It should be noted," Mr. Baker continues, "that probably two-thirds of the increase in production during the decade 1919-29 is owing directly or indirectly to mechanization and that this has been promoted principally by commercial agencies. . . . Since there are many people who need more milk, more meat, more fruit and vegetables, and are willing to work to procure these, it is clear that it is not the natural sciences that have failed to serve the people." The scientists are no more to blame for bankrupt farmers than they are for war.

IN THE Far East, one war continues and another continues to threaten. The continuing war, the perennial war, is the one which the Nanking government, more or less in alliance with the Cantonese, has been waging since 1927 against the Chinese Soviets. This year's Communist Suppression Campaign was to be the greatest of all. Huge preparations were made—political, military, financial. A secret agreement was signed with the Japanese, so that troops could be withdrawn from the North. Help was obtained from the United States, in the shape of $50 million worth of wheat and cotton, part of which was resold to the Japanese for cash. Troops were mobilized for an overwhelming attack on the Soviet capital in the province of Kiangsi. But the Chinese Soviets struck first. Instead of waiting to be attacked, they launched their own offensive in another province, in Szechwan, which lies in the far interior. They now seem well on the way toward conquering this whole province, which is both larger and more populous than France. . . . The war that continues to threaten is of course the war between Japan and Russia, which began to be discussed when the Japanese first invaded Manchuria. The Russians have been making every effort to avoid it, and they have yielded to a whole series of Japanese aggressions. Lately, feeling more secure in Europe, they have been speaking more resolutely in Asia. When a squadron of nine Japanese planes crossed the Siberian border, they sent a stiff protest to Tokio. For a few hours last week, it seemed that the war was about to burst forth. There were rumors from Moscow and Harbin that the Russians had not merely protested against this incursion, but had shot down six of the nine invading planes. But the rumor, whether true or not, was promptly denied in Moscow and Tokio. The Japanese have lately been proclaiming their desire for peace, but they have shown no disposition whatever to prove the sincerity of this desire by signing the non-aggression treaty which the Russians have been urging on them for the past two years.

WALTER LIPPMANN, in an address at Amherst on Armistice Day, made an interesting suggestion. The United States, he sees, does not want to be drawn into a new European war, which now is likely. It will strive to remain neutral. Last time it began by trying to be neutral, but afterwards gave up the attempt. In a world war, "neutrality for a great trading nation," he says, is "impossible." Therefore our only hope is to keep it from becom-

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ing a world war, and to do that by persuading Great Britain to be neutral also. There is certainly a strong opposition in England to joining any new war, and there seems therefore to be a chance of bringing about such an understanding as he advocates. It would greatly facilitate our neutrality by obviating conflicts with the strongest naval power in the world about such things as blockades and "freedom of the seas." If Great Britain expected to be a neutral instead of a belligerent, her attitude toward these matters would presumably be the same as ours. The proposal is worth considering seriously. But we should not want to rest America's purpose to remain neutral solely on the chance of obtaining Great Britain's coöperation. We do not agree that neutrality is impossible. All the resources of neutrality cannot be said to have been tried, just because the United States entered the War in 1917. If Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries managed to keep out, certainly we, at a distance of thousands of miles, and under no danger of invasion, could make a heroic attempt to do so.

THE Dollfuss government is concentrating its forces more and more definitely against the Austrian labor movement as the fight against fascism, both the Austrian and the German National Socialist product, is retiring to the political background. The prohibition of all demonstrations in celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of republican government was an open challenge to the Social Democracy in Vienna and other industrial centers. Where they were held, nevertheless, Socialist and labor demonstrations were routed with merciless ruthlessness: more than 500 Social Democratic workers were arrested, and Friedrich Adler, the secretary of the Socialist Labor International and the Socialist vice-president of the Landtag of Lower Austria, was manhandled. The workers of Vienna were deliberately infuriated by the erection of gallows in two of the most frequented public squares on the day before the anniversary. On November 11 the Austrian government announced that it would take charge of the finances of Vienna's Social Democratic city administration, a measure that served a double purpose. It discredited the Social Democratic party and gave the bankrupt national regime complete power over the not inconsiderable financial resources of that municipality.

AUSTRIA'S labor movement has come to the end of its course as a political factor in the life of the Austrian state. As was to be expected the "fighting ultimatum" issued by the Austrian Social Democracy at its extraordinary convention held in Vienna in the middle of October did not result in the hoped-for intimidation of the Dollfuss government. On the other hand, the influence of the National Socialist movement among Austria's industrial workers increases with disquieting rapidity. In the Shop Council elections held on October 26 in the coal mines of Steiermark, the Nazis advanced from third to first place, retired the Socialists from first to second and left the Dollfuss Christian Social party far behind. Any attempt on the part of the Social Democratic party to meet the offensive of the government in calling a much belated general strike is sure to end in failure. The time for effective resistance by the Austrian Social Democracy is past. The determination of the Austrian workers to defend their political and social rights at all costs has been so consistently undermined by the hesitating policy of the Socialist leaders that it has given way to dull despair and hopelessness. Today the Austrian worker is looking forward to the coming of fascism with fatalistic indifference.

AFTER years of boasting about his "corporative state," Mussolini now announces that he is actually on the point of creating it. Observers have consistently reported that hitherto the whole thing has remained chiefly on paper. John Strachey, in his book on fascism, charges that it does not exist. Whether these comments have stimulated Mussolini to act or whether he has been spurred by reports of the Roosevelt program in the United States, we shall probably never know. It is interesting to see, however, that in Germany as well, all the loud promises of the National Socialists have eventuated merely in extreme emphasis on the nationalism without a shred of the socialism. How could it be otherwise? Your fascist talks interminably about economic revolution in order to bait his trap for the workers. At the same time, however, he draws his financial support from capitalists. Almost the first thing he does when he gets power is to destroy all the independent workers' organizations. Thereafter there is no pressure to socialize, even if he wanted to do it. Only such economic changes are made as the big employers want. For this reason we await the new development in Italy with our fingers crossed. They suggest more that a necessity has arisen for Mussolini to stick out his chest and shout a new bluff than that anything really is going to be done.

AMERICAN novels have been published in Russia, Russian novels have been published in America, and in the majority of cases the writers of both countries have received some sort of royalties in spite of the lack of official relations. It has been a difficult, complicated process, not without its humorous aspects, and as Publishers' Weekly has recently pointed out, copyright protection should be included in any commercial treaty between the two nations. Paying writers has been only one of the problems—how is a publisher to have any dealings with an author from a country which officially doesn't exist? The American publishers have got around it in one way or another: The Appleton Company pays Gorky through an agent, as Doubleday, Doran pay Ilya Ehrenbourg and Tarasov-Rodionov; Farrar and Rinehart deal directly with Kataev and Boris Pilnyak, as does Lippincott with

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Ilin. But McGraw-Hill only manage to get royalties to Maximov, the author of "Plant Physiology," by depositing them with an American university professor. American writers whose works are translated are in an even more ambiguous position. They are paid royalties, but in rubles which they cannot take out of the country. Only Theodore Dreiser and Upton Sinclair are said to have been paid in dollars. Writers can go to Russia, however, and spend their royalties there, and several of them have done it. But it is at best an awkward relationship, and author-publisher relationships are usually bad enough even when there are no problems of international politics involved.

Turning Out the Ins

AS A RULE, elections are not exciting in years when neither a President nor members of Congress are to be chosen; but 1933 is a conspicuous exception. In particular, last week's balloting saw the final nails put in the coffin of prohibition, with the votes of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Utah. It saw the power of Tammany in New York City badly shaken, though not shattered, by the election of Fiorello LaGuardia as mayor on a Fusion ticket. The William S. Vare Republican machine in Philadelphia encountered a stunning defeat, as did that of Mellon in Pittsburgh. A Socialist administration was chosen in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and a "good government" Democrat will be mayor of Boston.

In general, the election showed what was to have been expected: that the people are still restless and discontented, still in the mood to punish the Ins by voting for the Outs. This is a normal sign of the times; last week, the Democrats were the chief beneficiaries, and if the depression continues another year or two, probably the Republicans will be the ones to profit. In the cases where notoriously corrupt political machines were spanked, it is doubtful whether the zeal for honesty was as important as the feeling that in these hard times, no city can afford the wastefulness which goes with a graft-ridden administration. Of seven cities which voted on projects for municipally owned public-utility plants, six rejected the idea; but here again, it is likely that the fear of municipal bankruptcy was the deciding factor and not a rejection of the underlying principle.

Next to prohibition repeal, which was well discounted in advance, the best news of the election for most people was no doubt the defeat of Tammany in New York City. Yet anyone who has studied the history of reform in American municipal politics, even to the extent of reading Lincoln Steffens' autobiography, is entitled to feel thoroughly skeptical about the lasting effects of putting honest amateurs in place of dishonest professionals, and these doubts are more than ever justified when we look at what happened in New York. Mayor-elect LaGuardia is a first-class man, who has been for years one of the most valuable progressives in the national House of Representatives; he will certainly do something toward cleaning New York's Augean stable, but it is hard to see how he can do very much.

For one thing, the Republican machine which was so largely responsible for his success is not much better (despite some recent reform at the top) than the Tammany machine. There is good reason to believe that in some parts of the city, the Republicans betrayed Mr. LaGuardia and gave important minor offices to the Democrats in a preëlection deal. In Manhattan, for example, Mr. Samuel Levy continues as Borough President despite a record so bad that it is hard to imagine an honest, independent voter choosing him. Four other important Manhattan offices, including that of the District Attorney, went to Tammany, which also retains its extremely valuable control of the Board of Aldermen. Mr. LaGuardia will find himself between those of his own supporters who don't want honest and efficient government and a group of Tammany office holders who of course are concerned primarily with continuing the loot.

For his victory he has chiefly to thank, not the enraged citizenry of New York, indignant over recent revelations of crookedness and incompetence in Tammany and its allied machines, but the political bungling of Postmaster General Farley, who persuaded Joseph V. McKee to enter the race. Mr. LaGuardia received a good deal less than half the total vote: only 858,000 ballots out of 2,100,000 which were cast. (Tammany of course stole as many votes as it could, and created a reign of terror at many polling places, but the number of such votes was not large enough to affect the result.) While these speculations are always uncertain, it seems probable that McKee took far more votes from the pathetic and ludicrous Tammany candidate, Mayor O'Brien, than he did from LaGuardia.

It has often been said in the past that the average New Yorker cares little if anything about municipal graft and wastefulness. While he pays a great share of the bill, he does so indirectly and does not realize how heavy is his individual burden. Certainly, there is nothing in the outcome of the election which makes it unlikely that Tammany will come back in 1937; and when we consider the financial difficulties with which LaGuardia will be confronted, the continuing and perhaps increasing burden of relief for the unemployed, the iron dictatorship of the bankers to which the city has pledged itself far into the future, it is hard to see how he can go out of office as popular as he enters it. As The New Republic has so often pointed out, real reform in any American municipality is almost impossible under a social and economic system which puts all emphasis on the attainment of wealth by any means, no matter how dubious, which is without a tradition of disinterested public service and in which the reformers never try to understand the genuine service performed by the corrupt machine or to offer any equivalent for it.

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The reasoning which applies to New York is, unfortunately, equally valid in most of the other cities which reported "good news" on November 7. The Socialist administration in Bridgeport is another interesting sign of the restlessness of the voters, but we do not believe it is anything more fundamental. Neither in Reading, Pennsylvania, in Milwaukee, nor any other town which has elected Socialist officials, has much been done which has been any more far reaching and effective than could have been done by an intelligent group of "Goo-goos." The victory in Philadelphia was largely a case of thieves falling out and honest men profiting thereby. The Pittsburgh election is chiefly important because the new mayor there understands the principles of Henry George and may push the old familiar Pittsburgh project of a graduated land tax with exemption of improvements. Taking the election as a whole, it is still fair to say that if the American people are feeling a revolutionary impatience with Things as They Are, that impatience is successfully concealed on the first Tuesday in November.

The Blue Eagle and the Miners

UNDER the aegis of the Blue Eagle, Illinois coal fields are witnessing a somewhat legalistic anti-climax to the bloody warfare between rival unions that has been raging for more than a year. Officials of the Progressive Miners of America announce that they will seek an injunction to enforce section 7a of the National Recovery Act. They hope, by such action, to override the recent decision of Donald Richberg, which gave an overwhelming victory to the United Mine Workers and the Peabody Coal Company interests.

While the officers of the Progressive union were coming to this conclusion, something of the old spirit of their membership flared up in a march of 15,000 miners and their wives in late October to Springfield, Illinois. Mystery still surrounds the actual origin of the march. Significant of the new temper of those in official position in the union is their charge that the demonstration was started by the "left wing." As some executive board members encouraged the movement in their various sections, there is much reason to believe that the official family secretly favored it, but became publicly remorseful when it threatened to get out of hand.

Whatever the genesis of the demonstration, thousands of men and women stood in a downpour of rain in Reservoir Park in Springfield, listening to speeches by left-wing leaders and officials of the union alike. There was some movement to picket the Peabody Mines in Springfield, where gunmen and National Guardsmen were ready to receive the demonstrators. But the picketing was discouraged by President Claude Pearcy, who threatened punishment for the left-wing group instead.

The cleavage between the left wing and the officials has arisen over the efficacy of the N.R.A. as a medium of salvation for the Progressive union. A profound change has been going on in the organization since the conferences with Governor Henry Horner in January. Up to that time, the Progressive Miners had been carrying mass picket lines across the state. Their fight against John L. Lewis had been the occasion for fierce battles. They were in complete possession of the Christian and Sangamon County areas.

Contrary to P.M.A. hopes, Governor Horner had returned the troops to Christian County upon his induction into office. The union charged that company thugs were the cause of terrorism in the strike regions. President Pearcy, under pressure of the left wing, threatened a general strike throughout the state. The Governor expressed himself as perturbed. He called the P.M.A. officials into conference. It was the high tide of the Progressive union.

The conferences lasted almost a month, in the midst of which 10,000 uniformed members of the Women's Auxiliary marched into Springfield to demand civil rights of the Governor. This picturesque parade of the wives and daughters of the coal diggers caught the fancy of the press. It became a national feature, and added credence to the belief that the P.M.A. was riding high.

But while the conferences were being dragged out and the general strike was being postponed, the United Mine Workers and the Peabody Company were filling the mines with men imported from other states. (It is because the Richberg decision now gives these old-union strike-breakers the right to remain in the mines that it injures the Progressives.) A "truce" was declared. With it ended the militant activities of the Progressives in Christian and Sangamon Counties; militiamen and quietude were in control of the war-torn areas. A corps of lawyers took the place of "militants" in the counsels of the union. When the southern counties went Progressive in the spring, the strike in the north was already at low ebb.

Appearance of the N.R.A. on the economic horizon was hailed by P.M.A. officials with delight. Gerry Allard, editor of The Progressive Miner and one of the stormy petrels who created the union, disagreed with this official judgment. He urged that national extension of the union was the required move; that militancy had built the union and was the only thing that could preserve it. He was discharged. With the coöperation of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, he began publication of The Fighting Miner, announced as the organ of the left-wing miners of America. For this he has been put on trial in his local union. Several other left-wing members have already been expelled, on charges that they were not at work when they entered the union. These were men who had fought John L. Lewis and had been under threat of expulsion from the United Mine Workers, when the P.M.A. was formed.

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Those members who criticized the N.R.A. were for some time in danger of union punishment, or of being manhandled by zealous followers of the official family. Under official pressure, striking Progressives marched with U.M.W.A. "strike-breakers" in N.R.A. parades in Taylorville, Harrisburg, Springfield and other places. General Johnson was extolled in the editorial columns of The Progressive Miner under its new editor, who replaced Allard.

But the N.R.A. has turned its back on the Progressive union. The Richberg decision doomed the thousands of strikers who fought Lewis in ten coal counties of the state. The union officials point to the left wing as the enemy causing the difficulty. "They are disrupting the P.M.A.," is the charge. This indictment includes Agnes Burns Wieck, who retired as president of the Women's Auxiliary at its convention on November 4. Although in numerical control of this convention, her followers refused to run for office, stating that they could not cooperate with "the Pearcy machine."

And thus another independent union, born in strife and under "radical" auguries, seems to have gone the conservative way associated with American Federation of Labor organizations.

Nobel Prizeman: 1933

TO IVAN BUNIN the news that the Swedish Academy awarded him the Nobel Prize in Literature must have appeared as a natural culmination to a long prize-winning career. M. Bunin possesses a veritable genius for getting prizes. Beginning with his very first booklet of poetry (1901) which won him the much coveted Pushkin Prize—the highest award within the gift of the Russian Academy—Bunin had been winning one academic prize after another. In 1909 he was elected by the Russian Academy as one of the twelve Honorary Academicians—Russia's equivalent to the French Immortals—of whom Tolstoy was a member at that time. Never a rebel or innovator, Ivan Bunin, both in his poetry and prose, followed the traditions of Russian realism, creating within the limits of those traditions artistically impeccable, if not greatly moving, works.

In many respects Bunin's prose writings are reminiscent of Chekhov's—the same preoccupation with small people, the same lyrical regrets for the passing of the old landed gentry, the same negative attitude towards the Russian *mujik*. His prose is richer than Chekhov's, but it lacks the latter's warmth, kindliness and humor. Greeted at various times and by various people, including Gorky, as the greatest living Russian writer, Bunin has somehow failed to achieve wide popularity either at home or abroad. The restricted popularity he had in Russia vanished with the Revolution, when Bunin fled the country and became one of the bitterest and most intransigent counter-revolutionary émigrés. To the great and growing mass of Soviet readers Bunin is at present not even a name. "Does Bunin exist?" inquired Trotsky as far back as 1923.

Of Bunin's generation only Gorky has remained a vital force in Russian letters. The others, together with Bunin, are practically dead. Uprooted, they have lost living contact with the soil from which they once drew their artistic sustenance. Of course, some of them still write, and Bunin especially has produced a couple of novels of relatively fine craftsmanship, but there is little reality, strength or conviction in their utterances. Their only emotion is nostalgia for an irretrievable past, their only animus a pitifully impotent detestation for the revolution.

> What the Russian Revolution turned into very soon [Bunin writes in his introduction to the English translation of his novel "The Village"], none will comprehend who has not seen it. This spectacle was utterly unbearable to anyone who had not ceased to be a man in the image and likeness of God, and all who had a chance to flee, fled from Russia. Flight was sought by the vast majority of the most prominent Russian writers, primarily, because in Russia there awaited them either senseless death at the hands of the first chance miscreant, drunk with licentiousness and impunity, with rapine, with wine, with blood, with cocaine; or an ignominious existence as a slave in the darkness, teeming with lice, in rags, amid epidemic diseases, exposed to cold, to hunger, to the primitive torments of the stomach, and absorbed in the single, degrading concern, under the eternal threat of being thrown out of his mendicant's den into the street, of being sent to the barracks to clean up the soldiers' filth, of being—without any reason whatever—arrested, beaten, abused, of seeing one's own mother, sister or wife violated—and yet having to preserve utter silence, for in Russia they cut out tongues for the slightest word of freedom.

Such is Bunin's generous appraisal of his people's endeavor to create a better, nobler, more reasonable existence. Was it for a literary or for a political reason that he, rather than Gorky, was the first Russian writer to receive the Nobel Prize in Literature?

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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The Corn Belt Cracks Down

The Blue Eagle in the Middle West

IS THE Middle West in revolt against the New Deal? The answer to that question is in the affirmative, but it is a highly qualified affirmative. The "revolt" is far from unanimous. It is a movement of certain classes and groups, some of which criticize Mr. Roosevelt's program for opposite and incompatible reasons. By no means does it at present embrace the general mass of the plain people. Nevertheless, it is an important phenomenon, and well worthy of the anxious attention it is receiving in Washington.

Who Are the Critics?—The three chief groups which are criticizing the N.R.A. and its allied operations are the big industrialists, the small retailers, especially those outside the big cities, and the farmers. As for the industrialists, I doubt whether their attitude has changed very much in recent weeks; they have simply become more vocal in expressing objections which they and their class, throughout the country, have felt from the beginning. The Roosevelt honeymoon is waning, and they feel they can at last speak out. Many of them are Republicans with a sharp eye cocked at the 1934 elections. It has been suggested to me that Chicago is a particular storm center because some of the town's big capitalists are self-made men of the old type, now so much rarer in the East, and object more violently than anyone else to the blows recently struck at "rugged individualism."

As for the small retailer, and the small business man in general, his complaint is that the Blue Eagle has put him at a disadvantage in comparison with his competitor whose business is larger. In Iowa, for example, stores in the smaller cities say that trade is being drained away into the larger communities, because the bigger shops there can afford to sell at lower prices. In the little store, meeting the terms of the Blue Eagle has meant actual, and painful, increases in pay roll; but the bigger stores have usually been able to juggle things around so as to meet the code without actually spending a dollar more than formerly. It is probably true, also, that in thousands of small towns which depend upon the farmers of the surrounding countryside for their very existence, the local shopkeepers, and most other people, take their cue from the farmers, on whose prosperity their own depends.

As for the farmer, to whom I shall devote the rest of this article, the causes of his hostility are by now well known. Agriculture is desperately sick, and has been for thirteen years, though its sickness has been greatly aggravated since October, 1929. Generally speaking, the farmer's position is today somewhat better than it was a year ago, but not enough better to end his discontent. Even though the price of certain things he buys has risen so fast and so far, in most cases his balance sheet is now better than it was in the autumn of 1932. His grievance is, first, that farm prices went away up in July but didn't stay there; and second, that the administration at Washington has been slow in putting its promises of improvement into execution. He feels that the A.A.A.—the Agricultural Adjustment Administration—which is the medium through which he is to be helped, has lagged behind the N.R.A.—the medium, as he sees it, for helping industry to raise its prices and thereby make things more difficult for him.

There is no doubt that many thousands of farmers of the Middle West are in an angry mood, or more accurately, a mood of angry despair. Too much was promised them too quickly; and in too many cases, the promises have proved wholly illusory. Despite all the federal and state legislation, farmers are still being evicted from their homes. Mortgages are still being foreclosed. In most states, nothing has yet been done which would flatly compel the holder of a mortgage to compromise with his borrower; he can still insist on his pound of flesh if he wants to, and in many cases he does. Mass intimidation by groups of neighboring farmers is still probably more effective than anything else in keeping down the number of sheriffs' sales, though a more reasonable attitude on the part of big lending corporations, including the Eastern life-insurance companies, has helped somewhat.

The Farm Strike and Its Results.—This is the background against which one must view the present farmers' strike, and the recent conference of Governors at Des Moines. The strike is thus far important as a symptom of a state of mind, but not otherwise. I can find no one in this part of the country who believes that it has had, or will have, any important effect in raising prices of farm products or (in its phase as a buyers' strike) in reducing the prices of the things the farmer buys. The strike thus far has been confined to comparatively few localities: along the western border of Iowa, in certain parts of Minnesota, and among the dairymen of Wisconsin. It has been guerilla warfare, useful almost solely as a means of keeping the farmers' troubles on the front pages of the newspapers. Thus far, farmers have shown an embarrassing alacrity in scabbing on each other; with more food being produced almost everywhere than can be bought, any local shortage is met with sup-

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plies from somewhere else; and usually, the strikers have been unable even to create a local shortage.

The most remarkable result of the present strike has been the Governors' conference at Des Moines, and its resultant transferring of the scene of battle to Washington. The Governors' demands on Mr. Roosevelt are already ancient history, and need not be discussed in detail. Their main points were taken over practically verbatim from the Farm Holiday Association. First of all, the program demands that it shall be illegal to sell farm produce for less than the cost of production, including in that cost adequate allowances for labor, depreciation, interest on investment, and profit. Speculation in foods would be banned; everybody from producer and processor to distributor would be put under government license of the type applied to industry under the N.R.A.

Some Expert Buck-Passing.—Did the conference of Governors sincerely believe in these breath-taking proposals which they took to Washington? I can find no one in the Corn Belt who believes that they did. It is no disrespect to point out that these Governors, after all, are politicians and that it is the business of politicians to get themselves re-elected. They saw the deep discontent among the farm populations of their states. They recognized that whatever sort of relief may be devised, the greater part of it must come from Washington. What could be more sensible, from their point of view, than to canalize the discontent and direct it against government officials, by adopting all the radical proposals made by the farmers' spokesmen, solemnly taking them to Washington, and there dumping them on the doorsteps of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace?

The man who was chiefly responsible for getting the Governors together, and sending them to Washington, was Milo Reno, president of the Farm Holiday Association. Of him, more later; it is sufficient to remark now that the amount of actual, formal support he has had from the farmers is of far less importance than the fact that discontent is so widespread. Some of the publicity put out by the Farm Holiday Association has talked, a little grandly, of having the support of "a farm population of two million people." Milo Reno himself thinks the movement has at least a million supporters. Actually, the dues-paying members number only a few thousand in Iowa, and there is a similar strength in three or four other states. You must remember, however, that this is a movement in which there is a great deal of local autonomy. There are Farm Holiday movements in certain states which are not affiliated, or only very loosely connected, with the parent organization. Angry farmers in certain areas go ahead on their own, more or less regardless of what Milo Reno wants. Thus, Wisconsin acted by itself in suspending the strike temporarily just after the Governors' conference; farmers around Omaha on their own initiative started to picket the roads again when negotiations began to go badly in Washington. It would not take much provocation to create very ugly conditions indeed, in many localities, and quite irrespective of the wishes of Farm Holiday leaders.

This Is the Day We Give Money Away.—To read the literature of the Holiday Association, or to hear the speeches at the Governors' convention, one would suppose that the government had done just about nothing for the farmers; but this, of course, is not true. The cotton planters of the South have received about a hundred million dollars of government money for reducing their acreage, and are now eligible for loans on cotton at ten cents a pound; one hears very few complaints from them just now. The wheat farmers are now receiving another hundred and ten millions, and they, also, are reasonably satisfied. The present troubles are in the corn-and-hog belt and among the dairymen, who haven't yet begun to share in the government bounty in a really big way. But their turn is coming.

Within the next few weeks, the campaign will be conducted to sign up the corn-and-hog farmers in their reduction program—a program which will put $350 million into the Middle West in the next few months. Corn men will agree to withhold 20 percent of their land from production, and they will be paid generously for this corn which they don't produce. Hog men will cut production by 25 percent, and will receive a bounty of $5 for each hog which they send to market. In addition, the government is preparing to put another $100 million or more into the Middle West right away through loans on unsold corn, which under the revision of the scheme announced November 5 will amount to almost fifty cents a bushel on the farm. Two-thirds of the corn-rental money and two-fifths of the hog bonus will be advanced as soon as the contracts are signed, and the remainder in instalments over the next few months.

One extremely important result has already been accomplished through the hog-buying program completed in the late summer. Faced with an excess production of hogs which threatened to break the market and bring the price down to almost nothing, Secretary Wallace instigated a plan to buy more than 6 million pigs. It is not true, as hostile critics have reported, that these pigs were killed and their carcasses dumped into the Missouri River. Some of this was done; the government probably made a mistake in buying too many pigs which were too young to be slaughtered for food. However, at least 100 million pounds of pork were salvaged and have been distributed, throughout the United States, to the unemployed. This program brought $50 million into the hands of the hog raisers, and it is to be supplemented immediately by another similar expenditure of approximately $50 million. Many millions more are being spent for purchases of beef and other meats, and dairy products, likewise for distribution to the unemployed. Some time

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ago, $75 million was allocated for wheat and cotton, to be manufactured into flour and cloth and distributed among the needy.

The Marines Are Coming.—What will all this mean to the farmers of the central Middle West? It won't, certainly, bring them back to complete prosperity. It won't at once solve the problem of surplus production. Even with the curtailment program in operation more hogs will be marketed in 1934 than in 1926, to say nothing of 200 million pounds of pork in cold storage. (This is due partly to cheap corn, which encourages hog production, and partly to the fact that the lower the price, the more the individual farmer feels forced to raise, in order to keep his cash income stationary.) The production of corn outruns the market by 15 million acres. Dairy production is about 10 percent above consumption. (Plans for applying the domestic allotment and processing tax to dairy products are now just being worked out.) Nevertheless, even if open-market prices of corn and hogs are not raised at all by the reduction scheme, the farm income for the coming year will be increased on the average by at least 50 percent. If prices are raised as much as the experts believe they will be, farm income will be doubled.

In familiar Hollywood terms, the Marines are coming. If the farmer, fighting desperately with his back to the wall, can only hold out a few weeks longer, they will be here. The trouble is that he doesn't know they are coming. As for Milo Reno and his fellow workers, they don't believe there are any Marines—or rather, that the alleged rescuers are just more bandits dressed up. The Farm Holiday view of things I shall present in another article.

BRUCE BLIVEN.

Des Moines, Iowa.

The Third Reich Votes

ON NOVEMBER 12 the entire nation must support Hitler and his policy. No opposition must be permitted to appear. The entire world must see that on this day the whole German people are one!"

Göbbels is explaining an anomaly to the masses. A popular referendum and a parliamentary election[1] have been decreed by an anti-democratic and anti-parliamentary dictatorship which promised last spring that there would be no new elections for four years. The little Minister of Propaganda shouts, sways and waves nervous hands over the tribune of the Berlin Sport Palast. Storm Troop guards stand stiffly at attention below the microphones. Behind the speaker is a semicircle of sixty Nazi flags, held by uniformed Storm Troops. The hall is bright with banners and streamers: "Work and Bread in Honor and Freedom!" "We Refuse to Be a People of Inferior Rights!" "With Hitler against the Arms-madness of the World!" Tens of thousands listen and applaud, clap and stamp and now and then cheer frantically under the spell of mass emotion.

The spell is old. All the old tricks are here: military fanfare, martial music, flags on bayonets, banners, uniforms and the old, empty words. Göbbels says nothing new. But the mob is as easily hypnotized as before. It screams, beastlike, at every reference to the "Jewish traitors." It howls against Geneva, Versailles, Germany's enemies. At the end of two hours of talk, it salutes, sings the "Horst Wessel Lied," bellows a triple "Heil!," all but weeps with bitterness and excitement, and departs in exaltation.

Five days later Hitler himself speaks in the same place before more tens of thousands, with sixty similar meetings in Berlin listening in by radio. More flags, uniforms, banners—grandiose and inspiring. Pale, grave, fanatic, *Der Führer* shouts hoarsely his long familiar message, full of the old clichés and the old words of fire, diluted with new platitudes about peace. His tongue slips easily into the familiar grooves. The crowd sits tense in ecstatic adoration before the prophet sent by Providence to save the Fatherland. Women faint. The aged renew their youth. Strong men are deeply moved. The frenzied multitude becomes delirious toward the end. It sobs, shrieks, grovels before the magician. Here are paranoia, megalomania, orgasms of hate and self-pity, hallucinations of Armageddon and the millennium.

The real reasons for this strangest of elections are not to be found in Nazi campaign oratory nor yet in the Geneva impasse. Hitler and his aides know well enough what judgment the world has passed upon their table-thumping diplomacy. They also know that Germany's international position will not be altered in the slightest degree by the vote of November 12. Armaments, "honor" and "equality of rights" merely furnish a convenient occasion for a referendum which is designed primarily to serve the domestic purposes of the Fascist dictatorship.

In the fateful election of March 5 the National Socialists received less than 44 percent of the votes. As against 17,264,000 Nazi ballots, some 22 million non-Nazi votes were recorded. With only 288 deputies in a Reichstag of 647 members, the Nazis obtained a slim majority for themselves only

[1] The German election took place while this issue of The New Republic was going to press.—THE EDITORS.

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by arresting the 81 Communist representatives. In June the 120 Socialist deputies were likewise ejected and the party suppressed. The "voluntary" dissolution of all other parties followed, and by the law of July 14 the formation of any new party was forbidden. Some 200 seats in the Reichstag are thus vacant. More than 150 non-Nazi deputies, including such republican leaders as are not in exile or in concentration camps, remain as specters of a dead past in the guise of "non-party" representatives or "guests" of the Nazi faction. These ghosts will now be laid and some 350 political plums will be made available for Hitler's favored henchmen—with salaries comfortable and duties limited to meeting occasionally to shout "Heil Hitler!" The state legislatures are also dissolved and for these there will be no new elections, for the German States are in process of destruction and replacement by an all-powerful unitary government.

Also of some significance is the possible desire of Hitler and his aides to change the peculiar composition of the Cabinet. The Hitler Cabinet of January 30 was a coalition, designed in the naïve imaginations of Hindenburg and his Junker advisers to temper Nazi madness with respectable "non-party" reaction. Of its twelve members only Hitler, Frick and Göring were Nazis, with the short-sighted Hugenberg as their confederate. This queer collection of political curiosities was enriched by the addition of Göbbels in mid-March. In June Hugenberg was ungraciously liquidated and his two posts given to Schmitt and Darré. Before his dismissal he is reported to have pointed out to Hindenburg that any modification of the Cabinet would void the extraordinary four-year powers granted to it by the Reichstag.

This plea was at the time fruitless. But it is possible that the Nazis have been deterred from disposing of their other unwanted Cabinet colleagues by a desire to preserve the illusion of legality. The Cabinet has remained one in which non-Nazis still hold a majority of the portfolios. These feudal gentlemen have been well behaved under Hitler's all-seeing eye, but some of them are nevertheless unwelcome flies in the Nazi ointment. Von Papen and the Stahlhelm leader, Seldte, will almost certainly be retained. But Rosenberg is spoken of as future foreign minister and other shifts are in prospect. The election will pave the way for a Cabinet in which the Nazi leaders assume most if not all of the posts.

In a broader sense, the election will give the dictators a useful measure of the extent to which the 22 million non-Nazi voters of last March have been won to the cause. This question is of minor importance for foreign chancelleries and the outside world, since it is obvious that the Nazis are determined to rule the Reich for weal or woe, come what may. Whatever the result of the balloting, they are not in the slightest degree menaced by opposition, for all opposition parties and organizations have acquiesced in their own strangulation. Intra-party jealousies have not yet reached a point dangerous to the security of Nazi rule. It may safely be predicted that Hitlerism will govern Germany at least until the closing phases of the next war. The new tyranny, however, rests not only upon force but upon the systematic enslavement of the minds and emotions of the masses. For the past eight months the entire machinery of the state, as well as every conceivable channel of public education and enlightenment and every magic device known to high-pressure salesmanship, have been monopolized by the Nazis to make this enslavement as complete as possible.

The time and the issue could scarcely have been chosen more propitiously. On the foreign-policy referendum all Germans, from Communists to monarchists, are of one mind. Who could vote against "Honor and Peace," "Equality of Rights," "Quiet and Freedom," "Security and Justice"? No tears are shed in Germany over the League and very few over the loss of civil liberty and the destruction of democratic government. Power, prestige and the strong wine of chauvinistic hysteria are now valued more highly. The week before November 12 recalls anniversaries charged with patriotic emotions: the Armistice, the mythical "stab in the back" in which all Germans now believe, the "Jewish-liberal-Marxist criminals" of 1919, the founding of the "Jew-republic" and, not least, the futile but "heroic" beer-hall *Putsch* of the Hitlerites in Munich in 1923. The "winter relief" campaign, moreover, is fully under way and is excellent political propaganda. Unemployment has been sharply reduced during the summer and the seasonal increase will not be apparent until after mid-November. The workers have not yet felt the full consequences of Fascism to the proletariat. The *Kleinbürgertum* is more intoxicated than ever with its own magnificent "revolution." The Nazis know that Germany will vote solidly "Yes" on the referendum. And they calculate, no doubt correctly, that those who vote "Yes" on the referendum will not be so foolish as to vote "No" on the Nazi list for the Reichstag.

And those who remain indifferent, reluctant, hostile? And the workers in whom the Marxist poison still ferments? Dr. Ley's mighty Deutsche Arbeitsfront, Fascist successor to the trade unions, spoke its mind early: "From today until November 12 every thought, every free minute and every penny must serve only to prepare for election day. Eighteen million people think from early till late only of the single aim of having the last man and the last women vote for Hitler." Does Mr. Citizen prefer to stay at home, to boycott the election by non-voting? His neighbors will sneer and—who knows?—they may report him. No man can trust his neighbor now. Storm Troopers will go from house to house to get out the vote. If he refuses to go to the polls he will most certainly be blacklisted and face the risk of losing his job, becoming

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a suspect, finding himself heaven-knows-where. Shall he go and vote "No?" He knows that this is a silly gesture which will change nothing. He does *not* know whether the Nazis can be trusted to respect the secrecy of the ballot. Suppose it is discovered that he has voted "No?" There are wild stories at which one shudders. . . . After all, the patriotic way is the safe way. Why not?

A sweeping popular endorsement of the Hitler regime will be registered in the news columns before these lines are in print. A 90-percent victory on the referendum and at least a 75-percent victory on the Reichstag vote are probable. The size of the "No" vote will be less significant in interpreting the result than the volume of non-voting. But there will be little of either. In the opinion of the present observer a substantial majority of the German electorate can now be relied upon to vote its approval of Hitlerism not only voluntarily but enthusiastically. As for the rest, their indifference to an election which can change nothing will be overcome by subtle pressure. The Nazi tom-toms are beating. The Nazi witch-doctors are chanting their incantations, dark with threats. Only the bravest will defy the lightning. And Germans prefer to be brave collectively, not individually. It may well be that the record vote of 39,300,000 of last March will be exceeded. Certainly, the number of non-voters, plus the number of "No" voters, will be held to a respectable minimum.

However impressive this index of latent opposition may prove to be, the Nazis will have liquidated the remaining vestiges of the old party system and will have demonstrated to themselves and to the world that a great majority of the German electorate stands behind them. The real significance of the situation lies in the fact that there is no longer any politically articulate opposition to Fascism in the Reich. The great masses of the German populace have been successfully hypnotized by Nazi demagogy. The Nazi movement from the beginning has been a revolt against reason and a constant crescendo of ultra-patriotic frenzy. "We think with our blood!" is a proud Hitlerite boast. The 40 million or more Germans who vote "Yes" on November 12 will vote with their blood—in fever or in fear. They speak with the voice of fierce hatreds and primal hungers which have been deliberately evoked and skillfully mobilized around the symbols of Fascist fanaticism. They act toward the world in a spirit of proud desperation shot through with dementia. Here is Germany's tragedy. It is this new *Furor Teutonica,* turned against itself, which is destroying all that was liberal and hopeful in German culture. It is this same madness, directed outward, which makes any increase in armament by the Third Reich a deadly menace to all prospects of peace and order among nations.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN.

Berlin, Hallowe'en.

Towards a United Front?

NEW PARTIES FOR OLD.—The apparent groundswell for a new radical party which Mr. Selden Rodman, in The New Republic of September 20, detected at the United Conference for Progressive Political Action, might more appropriately be described as the faint rumblings of a fast passing truck on a distant street. In truth, the United Conference for Progressive Political Action was the least important of the various gatherings which have taken place since last spring, and through which radicals and progressives are trying to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the chaotic economic situation in order to create a powerful farmer-labor movement. In this double quest for a united front and the type of organization and program that will be best suited for the purpose, new alliances are being formed. The significance of the newly created Farmer-Labor Political Federation can only be understood in the light of these recent developments.

Socialist Efforts.—The first to call a conference for the purpose of rallying the masses and coordinating progressive and radical farmer and labor organizations was the Socialist party and friendly groups. They staged, at Washington, in May, a Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers for Economic Reconstruction. The response was overwhelming and surprising. Over 4,300 delegates participated, representing trade unions, farmers' organizations, coöperatives, progressive political groups, educational and youth organizations. The delegates represented primarily local organizations, indicating an astounding rank-and-file response.

A new declaration of independence was promulgated and a platform of demands was adopted indicting the capitalist system and calling for drastic social reforms. A permanent organization was also set up, named the Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers. Since then twenty-seven state branches have been formed and numerous local bodies have been created.

A handful of delegates belonging to the Communists, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and a Left group of the League for Independent Political Action, revolving around its official organ, Common Sense, declared themselves

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more revolutionary and farther to the left than the dominant elements. They demanded that the Continental Congress initiate a thoroughgoing united front by admitting the Communist party. They further insisted that a labor party be launched immediately. Both demands were overwhelmingly rejected.

Corraling the Jobless.—The so-called "pure and simple" revolutionary factions led by the Communist party and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action are also sponsoring a new united front. So far their greatest response has come from the unemployed. Within the labor movement there has been much jockeying for the control of the organizations of the unemployed. Every fraction, no matter how tiny, has its associations of unemployed. Several national bodies were formed. The first to attempt such an undertaking were the Communists, through the National Unemployed Council. The second national body was created under the tutelage of Carl Borders, in charge of the Chicago office of the League for Industrial Democracy. It was named the Federation of Unemployed Leagues. The initiative for a united front of the unemployed bodies was taken by the Borders Federation.

At the convention in Chicago last June, the Federation of Unemployed Leagues was captured by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action-Communist coalition. The Borders and other groups have since withdrawn.

The next step of the "pure and simple" revolutionary factions was to take the lead in issuing a joint call "to all trade unions and organizations of the unemployed; to all workers, employed and unemployed, in the United States," to foregather in Cleveland on August 26 and 27 in order to promote "the united front of working-class struggle." The Daily Worker analyzed the response as follows; 507 delegates, representing 300,000 workers; 388 delegates from such Communist affiliates as the Unemployed Councils and the Trade Union Unity League branches; 34 from C.P.L.A. unemployed leagues; the remainder scattered.

All accounts agree that the gathering was turbulent, with the C.P.L.A. and Communist leaders roundly attacking each other. Nevertheless, they succeeded in agreeing on an immediate program, such as unemployment insurance, and "the perspective of a conference of the two organizations in the near future." The C.P.L.A., however, refused to commit itself to such proposals as exclusively supporting the "dual unions" of the Trade Union Unity League. Thus, while violently critical of each other, these two organizations are continuing their united front.

On the Political Front.—The League for Independent Political Action also has recently become imbued with the urge to act as a unifying force, particularly on the political field. Originally it catered chiefly to the Left middle-class elements. It then subscribed to a far-reaching social-reform program, which it considered impossible of attainment except through independent political action. It tried particularly to interest the Norris-La Follette progressives in taking the initiative in the formation of a third party. More recently elements have attached themselves to this body who have committed it to the need "to supplant capitalism with a new system."

These new elements are chiefly inspired by the C.P.L.A. and Common Sense groups. They were dissatisfied with the rejection of their proposals by the Continental Congress and blame the Socialist party domination for the action. Moreover, they consider the latter two agencies too slow for the present revolutionary tempo. When, after the creation of the Continental Congress, the older elements suggested that the L.I.P.A. fuse with the Congress, these newcomers prevailed upon them not to do so. They also induced the L.I.P.A. to sponsor, in conjunction with Common Sense, a National Conference for United Political Action. This conference, which was to be composed of representatives of "farm, labor, professional and progressive groups" and to give shape to the "program and form of organization of the new party," assembled in Chicago last Labor Day.

In contrast to the gathering of the Continental Congress and the United Action Conference of the Communists and the C.P.L.A., this one consisted of "carefully selected" delegates and was intended to be limited to some 200, "so that there may be opportunity for real discussion and wise action." Fewer than ninety delegates appeared, none from substantial labor groups and only about ten leaders of mass organizations, principally farmer elements from the Northwest.

The C.P.L.A. and Common Sense followers demanded "audacious and bold action." Instead of a declaration demanding immediate drastic social reforms and the ultimate abolition of capitalism, they insisted on a program calling for a revolution and the formation of a "radical party."

Those attached to the points of view of the farmer-labor organizations of the Northwest, the Continental Congress and the Socialist party cautioned diplomatic procedure, acknowledging, however, that only a new social order could assure permanent economic security and a high standard of living. Furthermore, they held that the time was not ripe for the formation of a mass farmer-labor party, advocated preparing the ground to take advantage of the disillusionment that would result from the failure of the Democratic party to carry the N.R.A. program to a successful issue, and carried the day by a close vote.

Perhaps the L.I.P.A. liberals were alarmed at the strength of those who proclaimed the time ripe for a revolution. At any rate they introduced a resolution barring the Communist party and its members, as well as its affiliates and their members from membership in the newly created Farmer-

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Labor Political Union, which was to take steps to stimulate the promotion of a mass farmer-labor party. This proposition was also carried by a close margin. A Committee of Action was formed. Because they were organized, a preponderance of representation fell to the C.P.L.A.-Common Sense followers; the chairmanship was allotted to a man they considered inclined toward them; the editor of Common Sense was elected executive secretary. Thus, while this group lost out with reference to program and procedure, it is strategically situated so far as control of the organization is concerned.

Fact or Audacity?—What are the prospects for a comprehensive and practical united front, in view of these organizational and ideological developments? It would seem that the fundamental differences dividing the two cardinal points of view are well nigh irreconcilable. It is highly probable that those who demand a "pure and simple" revolutionary movement will center around the Communists and the C.P.L.A., and that those who believe that diplomatic procedure is more practicable will gravitate towards the Socialist party and the Continental Congress.

If the C.P.L.A.-Common Sense coalition gains control, the Farmer-Labor Political Federation will automatically drift towards the Communist-C.P.L.A. alliance, or some modification of it. Should the other elements dominate, the Federation will of necessity become a part of the Socialist party-Continental Congress coalition. Thus, a united front will bring together the progressive and radical groups into two broad divisions—one counseling diplomatic procedure and the other demanding revolutionary pronouncements.

The Chance to Win.—Which of these divisions has the best grounding with the masses and the best contacts with existing farmer and labor organizations? It is foolhardy to attempt to estimate numerical strength, since all these organizations are more or less in the propaganda stage. There is no doubt that in the urban areas the Socialist party and the Continental Congress have the widest contacts both with individuals and organizations. Moreover, their membership is stable and the organizations with which they have friendly relations are well established. On the other hand, while the Communists and the C.P.L.A. have fair contacts with individuals and organizations, the latter are of an uncertain nature. Their membership is unstable; the mass organizations under revolutionary influence are highly ephemeral. Also, since both the patient and impatient groups operate among city workers chiefly, there is great need for an organization that would busy itself in the rural areas.

It should be remembered that all these organizations operate on the fringe of the farmer-labor movement. Even the Socialist party and the Continental Congress have uncertain contacts with organizations of a mass character and a relatively small membership. Nevertheless, in order to build a mass farmer-labor movement it is not only necessary to go directly to the masses, but it is even more important to obtain the participation of farmer and labor organizations having a large and stable membership. The diplomatic tactics and policies of the Socialist party and Continental Congress should make it possible for them to win the confidence of the progressive farmer and labor organizations, thereby giving them the advantage. But a more likely eventuality is that conditions brought on by the N.R.A. and the new membership which is flocking into the farmer and labor organizations may, as they did in 1922-24, force these organizations to become more militant and to enter the political field.

Perhaps, in that event, the farmer-labor organizations will prefer to proceed independently, as they did when they formed the Conference for Progressive Political Action and sponsored La Follette as their presidential candidate. Should they decide to pursue this course, they will lack now, as they did then, the proper machinery for carrying on their political activities. They will find it necessary to go into partnership with some of the existing propaganda and political organizations. The chances are that they will choose to align themselves with the Socialist party and the Continental Congress.

DAVID J. SAPOSS.

What's in the Paper?

MY JOB is reading newspapers. About one hundred a day. Dizzy work! You flash the headlines and editorials. Like seeing a badly made, flickering film of the nation staggering in review. Come along for a hectic twenty minutes? All right; hold your hat! We're off!

West Virginia.—Fifty-five counties and scores of cities and towns may have to close shop unless special session of legislature can find new sources of tax revenue. Public schools may also have to close. Mae West proposes code for bachelor girls in three-column layout. Husband shoots wife. Wife shoots husband. Man out of work shoots himself. Three killed, four hurt in auto crash. Burglars loot store. Burglars loot bank. Jean Harlow elopes in three-column layout. Mary Pickford may divorce Douglas Fairbanks. Policemen will remain on the job without pay in hope some solution of tax problem may be found. Girl charges prominent young man wasn't nice to her on automobile ride.

Pennsylvania.—Everyone hopes federal mediation board will end coal strike. Mayor pleads with federal government to end strike. Strikers bomb miner's home. Seventeen hurt in riot. Mae West proposes code for bachelor girls. Husband takes stand in murder trial. Jean Harlow elopes. Wife takes stand in another murder trial. Strikers bomb

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bridge. All strikes will be settled tomorrow. Police shoot three strikers in riot. Editorial says Hitler is a menace to peace. Husband kills wife, three children, mother-in-law and self; was out of work. Bus hits automobile; seven injured. Train hits automobile; five killed. Bandits rob bank. Rumor says Mary Pickford may divorce Douglas Fairbanks. Holy Name Society stages stupendous parade. Night-club proprietor murdered. State senator goes on trial charged with being principal protector of gigantic rum ring. Truck drivers strike. All strikes settled. Strikers riot; twelve injured; thirty-two arrested. Editorial deplores lynching of Negro in Maryland; says it is blot on nation's fair name. Pennsylvania relief rolls list 325,000 families. State is so broke it cannot undertake expense of distributing free federal salt pork. State must vote $25 million bond issue or relief will end as winter begins. Doris Kenyon may get a divorce. Mary Pickford may get a divorce. Lupe Velez has been married to Johnny Weissmuller for several weeks. Silk strike is settled. Silk strikers march on Washington. Silk strike is settled. Coal miners bomb each others' homes. Coal miners again bomb each others' homes. Editorial says President Roosevelt has lifted the word chiseler out of slang into the dictionary. Pennsylvania hopes federal mediation board will end mine strikes. Aimee Semple McPherson Hutton conducts revival and saves Mrs. Jessie Costello, who was acquitted of killing husband.

Indiana.—Band of convicts and gangsters is terrorizing the state. National guard called out. Mae West proposes code for bachelor girls. Charlie Chaplin may make new picture and again he may not. Hard to say. State feverishly seeks new sources of tax revenue. Taxpayers hope economy may prove the remedy rather than new taxation. Plumpness is now much more popular than lead-pencil shape among our dear, dear and ever-charming girls. Young man found dead; known only as Sonny; publication of this news brings flood of telegrams from anxious parents all over the country wondering if it is their lost Sonny Unemployed man argues with grocer for food; grocer shoots him; police find ten dependents huddled in cold house awaiting papa's return. Jean Harlow elopes. Automobile accident kills two, injures five. Husband convicted of murdering wife. Wife shoots husband. Man, aged fifty-nine, shoots wife, daughter-in-law, landlord and himself. Editorial says Hitler Storm Troops must not abuse American citizens.

Ohio.—State desperately seeks additional revenue to save public schools. Mae West proposes code for bachelor girls. Taxpayers hope economy rather than additional taxation will prove remedy. City superintendent of public schools says truancy law can't be enforced; children who lack shoes and decent clothing will not attend school no matter what. Jean Harlow elopes. Reporter visits nudist colony and finds people there wear no clothes. Automobile accident kills four; injures two. Bandits rob bank. Husband shoots wife; wife shoots husband. Wife asks fifty thousand dollars alimony. Unemployed man's wife kills self and two babies. Home Owners' Loan Corporation saves four mortgaged homes from foreclosure.

Missouri.—State desperately seeks additional sources of taxation. Taxpayers hope economy rather than more taxes will be the remedy. Mae West proposes code for bachelor girls. Automobile accident kills seven. Farmer reports that two fat calves netted him $3.67. Strikers riot, sixteen hurt. Jean Harlow elopes. Jean Harlow has an operation. Jean Harlow is recovering. Farmers consider joining farm strike. Reporter visits nudist colony and reports seeing naked people. Missouri fears other states are getting disproportionate share of federal public-works funds. Wife of unemployed man turns on gas; kills self and baby. Bandits loot bank. Editorial says Cuban situation is getting worse and Uncle Sam may have to restore order.

Oklahoma.—Forty thousand drought sufferers. Mae West is making plumpness stylish. State's application for public-works loan for dams turned down. Jean Harlow elopes. Someone reports Public Works Administrator Ickes says, let the drought sufferers get out of the drought district. Adrienne Ames, film star, will fly to New Mexico to marry Bruce Cabot, film star. Governor Alfalfa Bill Murray says he will call out the militia if Ickes tries to remove the drought sufferers from their castles. Wife shoots husband. Two husbands pot a brace of wives. Auto crash kills four, injures three. Mae West proposes code for bachelor girls. Mr. Ickes says it's all spinach and to hell with it. Governor Murray threatens to call out militia. New oil wells splatter homes and schools. Governor Murray threatens to call out militia. Price of oil declines. Governor Murray threatens to call out militia.

New York.—State government desperately needs more revenue. New York City desperately needs more revenue. All the other cities desperately need more revenue. Taxpayers in thin piping voice express hope that economy will prove the remedy rather than more taxation. Federal government ships salt pork by the carload to save starving unemployed. Relief agencies report that it is not kosher, hence valueless for many thousands. State is urged to vote $60 million bond issue for relief. The New York World-Telegram announces in four-column layout that this is Mae Westian World. Adrienne Ames, film star, flies to New Mexico to wed Bruce Cabot, film star. Flock of unemployed turn on the gas, but lose to another flock who jump out windows. Bankruptcies show slight increase. Business complains that banks have locked up their money and thrown the key away. Contract bridge expert earns $250,000. New York American an-

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nounces that what this country needs is navy second to none. Several other editorials denounce ill treatment of German Jews.

California.—Cotton pickers and farmers fight pitched battles. Mae West is made Kentucky colonel. Lupe Velez marries Johnny Weissmuller. Husband is given death penalty for wife murder. Female movie star slugs female movie star in movie riot scene. Jean Harlow basks in beautiful sunshine. Mary Pickford may divorce Douglas Fairbanks. Aimee Semple McPherson Hutton still loves him. Mary Pickford may not divorce Douglas Fairbanks. Hutton does not love Aimee; Wednesday is over. Mary Pickford positively will divorce Douglas Fairbanks. Half a dozen other movie stars get divorces. Fourteen others are married. Twelve are reported to be "that way." Eight thousand garment workers strike in Los Angeles. Editorial says N.R.A. should institute a thirteen-months calendar.

Illinois.—Coal miners march on capital. Coal miners picket mines. Rival coal miners' unions picket each other. Police picket both. All three take pot shots at the nearest target. Mae West makes curves stylish again. Nudist camp in Michigan is prosecuted. Snooping reporter finds people in camp were naked. Chicago Tribune says N.R.A. is a lot of hooey and unconstitutional. Doris Kenyon may get divorce. Jean Harlow grabs another three-column layout. Wife shoots husband. Four husbands retaliate. One husband convicted. Two not yet caught. One wife acquitted. Lupe Velez marries Johnny Weissmuller in three-column layout. School teachers' pay cut. School teachers not paid. School teachers lose homes. School teachers asked to teach unemployed for relief dole. School teachers asked to contribute to Red Cross and support N.R.A. School teachers beg for hearing. Hearing denied. Mine strikers touch off flock of bombs. Mine strike is settled. Miners get more pay and shorter hours. Editorial says people should not strike because it does no good whatever.

Nebraska.—Tax foreclosures on 758 homesteads in and near Omaha bring the state about $3,000. Properties were valued at $250,000. Sales brought total of $15,000, but expenses were $12,000. This is Mae Westian World (three-column layout). Farmers may join strike proclaimed by National Farm Holiday Association. Lupe Velez may marry Johnny Weissmuller. Automobile crashes over week-end kill eleven; injure thirteen. Nudist camp in Michigan is under scrutiny. Hot-cha-cha! Farmer ships two fat calves to market and nets $3.67. Is the backfield strong enough to carry Nebraska's gallant eleven to victory? Who knows? Oh, God! Oh, God!

Well, that's enough to give you the general idea of what is going on.

CHESTER T. CROWELL.

Washington Notes

The General on the War Path—The Embattled Farmers—Silver Linings—After the Smoke of Battle

BY THE time these words are printed General Hugh Johnson will have returned from the speech-making tour upon which he embarked a few days ago, and which was planned to quell the dissatisfaction with the N.R.A., widespread in the West, and confound its critics. At this moment the General is still on the stump, going strong, but it is not noticeable that there has been any lessening of the criticism or diminution of the dissatisfaction.

One trouble about the General, as I have previously pointed out, is that he not only talks too much, but what he says is neither balanced nor wise. It is, I think, partly due to the pyschological make-up of the man and partly to the highly organized ballyhoo upon which the N.R.A. has so largely and obviously depended. Perhaps it was necessary, but, in the judgment of most men here, it has been considerably overdone. Before he left Washington—in fact many weeks before—it was completely plain that to some extent the resentment against the N.R.A. was due to the belligerency of its director.

A realization of this, one would have thought, might have led him to allay the resentment by a more conciliatory and reasonable method of address. Such was the advice given the General before he left Washington by some of his closest personal friends. So far from taking this advice, the General started out and has continued even more belligerently than before. The net result, I am reliably informed, is that Mr. Johnson has only succeeded in intensifying the personal hostility toward himself. The truth is that a good many in Washington were rather skeptical as to the value of Johnson's trip in the first place. It seemed, for one thing, completely unnecessary. There was always the radio available for a speech to the public if a speech seemed called for, and it was argued that a better impression could be made and more accomplished if the General stuck to his job in Washington.

The fact is, however, that the General wanted to take the trip. He wanted to get away for a while. He likes to be the man of action, winging his way across country, facing the people, defying his opponents. There was no difficulty persuading the President of the desirability of such a performance. Though totally devoid of that truculence which characterizes the General, he is a believer in the efficacy of a personal appearance, and it was he, I am informed, who suggested that Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace follow suit.

So far, it seems that Mr. Wallace, though under hotter fire from the agricultural section than General Johnson, has made the better general impression. It was too much for him to hope that anything he could say would soothe the savage breast of the embittered farmer. For one thing, the embittered farmer has exceedingly good reasons for feeling that way and no one knows it better than Mr. Wallace and the Agricultural Administrator, Mr. George Peek. Both of these well posted men know the extent of the revolt in the Corn and Wheat Belts; they know the reasons for it

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and they know the difficulties of dealing with it. The personal attacks made upon them in the West have not made them sore. On the contrary, both Wallace and Peek regard these assaults as being more or less natural and inevitable.

In Washington, before he left, Mr. Wallace expressed his sympathy with the farmers, his recognition of what they are up against, and his belief that, with patience, the situation could and would be greatly improved. He confessed himself deeply disturbed over conditions and deplored the lack of team work between the N.R.A. and the A.A.A. Altogether he was candid and reasonable and, while he may encounter trouble on his trip, in the end his methods should be effective. At any rate, he appears to have received a better reaction in the press than Brother Johnson, who wants to "eat 'em alive" and convince the country that no one but fools and crooks finds any flaw in the N.R.A., its operations or its operator. There is so much that is of value about the N.R.A. and its potentialities for real advancement are so great that it seems a very great pity there is no way to persuade its director to adopt a more amiable method. It is all right to be picturesque and red-blooded, but there is unmistakable evidence that the country is getting bored with continual exhibitions of a fighting man "cracking down" on everybody who gets a little out of line.

While there is no doubt that thoughtful men in the administration, such as Henry Wallace, are disturbed over present conditions, it would be wholly wrong to conclude that the disturbance is tinged with despair. On the contrary there is a confident feeling that the next two months will see a real change for the better; a change that will enable the administration to weather the congressional storm and keep from being swept from its moorings. The bulk of the cotton checks and a considerable part of the wheat checks have already been sent out, and in a short time the corn and hog checks—an avalanche of them—will be on their way to agricultural producers.

It is also true that, within two months, many of the contracts for which money has been allocated by the Public Works Administration will have been actually awarded. True, as Al Smith pointed out, it would have been better, far better, if work could have begun in the summer or early fall, and that the winter months preclude starting certain operations. But there are a great many others which the weather will not preclude, and these are being counted upon to provide employment and increase purchasing power.

Altogether, the New Deal operators, though disturbed, are not discouraged—at least most of them are not. There are, of course, certain members of the administration holding important posts whose attitude is distinctly not helpful. These individuals have done a great deal to spread the idea that the whole administration is in a chaotic state and that no one knows what it is all about. There is some mystery here as to why certain members of the "inner circle" holding these opinions either stay or are permitted to stay. One explanation offered is that without them the administration would be wholly without a conservative contact, and that the President thinks it is valuable to retain them, despite the fact that he does not go their way or take their advice.

Of more interest, however, are the reverberations from the recent election. The defeat of the McKee ticket in New York undoubtedly was a setback for the administration. It would not be fair, however, to interpret it as a blow to Mr. Roosevelt's personal popularity. Careful as he was to take no stand publicly, it is idle to deny that the McKee candidacy was encouraged and supported by the White House. The Farley-Flynn conference there immediately preceding McKee's announcement of his candidacy was convincing evidence of that. Then there was the management of the McKee campaign by the chief federal office-holder of the city, the adoption of the name "Recovery party," the appeal that a vote for McKee was a vote for Roosevelt, the indictment of the leading Fusion supporters as anti-Roosevelt, and the personal plea of Roosevelt's Postmaster General, Patronage Distributor and National Chairman—Mr. Farley. Combined, they inextricably linked the administration with McKee, and there is no escape for the administration from a share in the defeat. Naturally, this does not help Roosevelt's prestige in the country. Mr. Roosevelt distinctly brought this on himself.

The whole McKee campaign was a stupid piece of business, which fortunately did not result, but very easily might have resulted, in the complete futility of the effort to free the city from the grip of Tammany. It was a selfishly conceived political move, originated by overambitious politicians, and it is a great pity Mr. Roosevelt fell for it. However, so far as the administration is concerned, there may be one benefit. It may teach the allegedly astute Mr. Farley that there is such a thing on his part as overactivity. It may be that in the future we will have from that person considerably less smugness and self-complacency. If McKee had won, he unquestionably would have been in a position of supreme political strength, well on his way to the gubernatorial nomination of 1936. He would have been hailed as a political genius. Instead, there is a general disposition now to regard him as a fat-headed fellow, with an exaggerated idea of his importance, who "put his neck out" and got what he deserved.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Money in Furs—Skinning the Public—Keeping the Outsiders Out—Giving the Sherman Law the Run-around

IF, IN the inscrutable designs of Providence, the N.R.A. escapes the ash-barrel and remains in our midst as a permanent institution, what will it look like? There has been so much blather from the high-horsepower publicity legions of General Johnson and so much turning of the spotlight on the labor adjustments under the plan that no attention whatever has been expended on the form the N.R.A. will take if it should become permanent.

If anyone is curious to know what it will resemble, may I suggest a peep at the highly efficient and comprehensive self-rule established in the fur-dressing industry in New York City? In this industry there are engaged some sixty-eight corporations. The labor is supplied by five large labor unions.

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The fur dressers, like all harassed souls in industry, had their troubles. The ethics of the men engaged in the business, alas, were hardly ankle high—scarcely better than those of our bankers. There was a good deal of selfishness in the business. Newcomers could get into it easily and with little capital. Hence competition was fierce. Price cutting ran amuck. Hiring cheap labor was a nuisance. In short, all of those things which business describes as unfair competition tormented the harried entrepreneurs. The workers, too, suffered. There were too many of them. Employers who made profits skinning otter, ocelot, muskrat and mink, knew how to augment their gains by skinning honest workmen.

Plainly what this industry needed was a New Deal. Clearly its outstanding need was self-rule. So it proceeded to treat itself to a large-sized dose of self-rule. The employers—about sixty-eight corporations doing an aggregate business of $85 million a year—formed themselves into a trade association, the Fur Dressers' Factor Corporation. Of course, they had a code of practice. The workers were organized into five unions. Then they made a series of compacts. Production, trade practices of various sorts, were regulated. Wages, hours and conditions of labor were fixed. The employers and the unions got the situation in hand, as the police say.

Now obviously it is not possible to rule an industry this way if outside employers and workers are going to be permitted to disrupt the trade by refusing to comply with the ordinances formulated by the ruling organizations. Outsiders must be made to come in, or better still, must be kept out of the business. They are called chiselers. Therefore the organizations decided that no one would be permitted to engage in the fur-dressing business who was not in the organization. No member of the union would work for them. No member of the employers' association would employ a worker who was not a member of the union. The union protected the employers' association. The employers' association protected the union. The trade became a monopoly. It could limit production—tell the population of New York how many furs it would be allowed to have—and, subject to the community's ability to pay, what the furs would cost them.

As far as the economic system would permit, this was a dandy scheme for those in the combine. They could limit the number of employers and the number of employees who would enjoy the blessing which would flow from a limited production of furs. What seemed to the eye of an outsider wrong with this was that the needs of the community for furs seemed to play no part in this plan. And while this might not be so serious in the matter of furs, it might be very serious in the matter of shoes and clothes and food which the public really must have in large quantities.

Of course, there was no way of dealing with the chiseler save one. Under the benign rule of the N.R.A. there is the doughty Brigadier to "crack down" on them. But all this was before the New Deal. So the employers engaged the Messrs. Louis Buckhouse and Jake Shapiro, in the absence of General Johnson, to crack down on the chiselers in their own inimitable way. Thus self-rule took up its sway over the fur industry of New York.

Of course, all this was against the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and besides, Messrs. Louis and Jake are said to have resorted to excessive rudeness in the performance of their constabulary functions. And as a result, the employers' association, the sixty-eight corporation employers, the five trade unions and a whole batch of employer and employee leaders and Louis and Jake have been indicted by the federal grand jury in New York City.

But if you will eliminate the violence, which can now be dispensed with, since we have the good General, and if we eliminate the violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, since that statute has been suspended, what have these gentlemen furriers done which differs from the ideal for self-rule in industry which the N.R.A. is setting up? The self-rule is lodged with the trade association. They will control prices and production, ultimately if not now. They will organize industry on the principle of achieving prosperity by scarcity.

Of course, under the N.R.A. the government will have supervision. And the consumer, I hear you faintly add, is recognized. But General Johnson has said more than once that when the thing really gets going, the trade associations will rule and they will do their own policing. He has approved—and it looks as if the government sympathizes with him—the idea of turning the whole thing over to the Chamber of Commerce. As for the consumer, we have already seen what a mild and feeble role he plays in the scheme, even at the start when the pretense of high virtue spreads its wings over the whole circus.

When it finally settles down to permanent existence far from the headlines of page one, when the Brigadier's voice is stilled and all the "ruling" goes on quietly and in a humdrum fashion in the chambers of the trade associations, and when these gentlemen learn how to do business with the labor leaders, as the furriers did and the building trades have done time out of mind, where, oh where, will the consumer be then?

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Jooss and Lifar

WE HAVE just had two debuts in America, one of Mr. Kurt Jooss and his company, one of Mr. Serge Lifar, without a company but attended by a group of dancers, so to speak. Mr. Lifar is the master of the ballet and principal dancer at the Paris Opera. Mr. Jooss was unknown two years ago. Last year in Paris he entered the International Congress of the Dance and won first prize, with "The Green Table."

It is not very profitable to make distinctions between these two occasions. The accent in the Lifar event was on the chief dancer: Paris is likely to overlook the surrounding ensemble, scenery and so forth, and to be interested in the leading artist's idea and performance. Mr. Jooss' evening put the accent—a great German sin, it seems, when it becomes military—on the whole group. They were carefully disciplined and thorough, so that, whether you liked it or not, you certainly got a definite uniformity of excellence distributed among the dancers. To me it seemed more like an exhibition from an admirably run school than anything else; I kept looking for some one person, or for some impact from all the persons assembled, given them by one person of genuine creative power, even though

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himself unseen, that would seize and create the occasion. I admired the thoroughness with which the company, or class, had been disciplined; and it seemed to me that, from the waist down, or perhaps rather from the hips down, all the dancers had an unusual swing or precise mastery of that lower section of the body. As whole, as complete rhythmic entities, in the sense that Mei Lang-fang would mean, they seemed to me honest but a bit stuck. The "Impressions of a Big City" has an inventive choreography, very interesting weavings of the design. There was an originality in that perpetual interchange of position that cannot be conveyed in words. Now and then the drawing in this ballet composition was superb. Now and again the thing was obvious, which would be nothing against it except that it was tinged with an obviousness that was mere banal quantity, not force. The composition, "A Ball in Old Vienna," had also a certain originality and a definite modernity at many moments. The circling movements and the patterns, the general effect of something incessant, was, as in the other composition, most effective. The impression that everyone on the stage gave of not being in the least aristocratic or even out of Vienna was in itself, I have no doubt, a form of sincerity. In places this ballet was charming, nevertheless. The "Pavane on the Death of an Infanta," with some suggestion of the Wilde story, came off only smudged and flat.

If you were a composer composing a symphony and announced deeply that there was in it a fundamental idea, say the irony of not eating spinach instead of beans, you would find plenty of people who would perceive with what truth and power the music disposed of beans. No more of the old, no more families like Cicero's drawing their name from chick peas—still called by the backward Italians *cecci*—which the wart on a forefather's nose was like! The new rhythms, new forms, colors and orchestrations lie in spinach! Pythagoras, with his powers of thought and gift for the art of words, very likely, when he prohibited beans for his disciples, called up some of the likeliest forces in men's souls. But I am not one who is so thrilled by our composer's no-more-beans-spinach-among-men "idea," or theme, that from its mere colonic propaganda I will think his composition important and revolutionary, or that its vegetable sincerity has been translated into a musical body of any significance. It is no more true that beans are beans and spinach spinach than that most ideas that art conveys are, if strictly and barrenly stated, more than familiar, if not platitudes. What counts is the extent to which the idea has been given all those overtones, illuminations and contagions, all that complete restatement into a new medium, that make art. In the end, as the history of art will show, ideas are not first born in works of art; they arise out of human thought and life, and they may find, always somewhat later, a persuasive and life-giving creation, complete within itself, in some work of art. Since art at its full is a difficult language to read, it is much easier to be touched by the idea, however platitudinous, when it is put for you in mere words, and then in turn to perceive the idea in the work of art prescribed for it. This is an aspect of art particularly well adapted for those who like to think rather than to understand.

Which brings me to "The Green Table." Since mere newness has little to do with the question, it is nothing against this composition that its central idea is long since a chestnut: the council table with its one-way-or-another prattle and craft, sending out young men to die on battlefields, the mocking horrors of war. Everything will depend on the invention displayed, and the extent to which what is said in dance terms could not be said in words.

What is against this ballet is that, though cut ten minutes from the Paris version, it is in many spots heavy and dull, not to say obvious as design—and in art whenever the design dies on us the idea dies (which ought to be as true as saying that a man dead is no longer himself). There are moments, however, in "The Green Table" that are expert choreography, and moments, not very many, really, tender and pathetic. There are two very beautiful short passages: that in which the young girl sinks slowly into the embraces of Death, and that where Death and the young man contend for the flag on its staff. The green table of the statesmen is excellent, but much too much repeated.

Mr. Jooss himself, in an absurd costume, sequins for the corsage, smudged lines for the skeleton aspects, took the part of Death. I have not seen him in other parts, but in this he was often merely stationary, without power or concentration; he was in fact trying for one of the most difficult things in art, which is a projection in stillness, a concentration that is alive, a lack of movement that is the quintessence of vibration and relative motion. To say that Mr. Jooss is trying to lead the modern dance back to the theatre is tosh unless you say that Diaghilev did the same thing with "Narcisse," "Til Eulenspiegel" and various other compositions presented by his ballet, which, words omitted, carried the full diapason of the theatre art. As for this death dance deriving from Holbein, in the first place, what is the difference between deriving your design from Holbein and from Bérain or the Greeks? In the second place, very little Holbein, Bruegel or any such landmarks of Gothic traits appeared in this Joos presentation. Despite the sincere intentions, there was a vast need for a more sharp, acrid and compelling delineation and for a distinguished style.

Of Mr. Lifar's occasion it is scarcely worth while to descant upon the fact of the raw, sceneless, close-at-hand stage and haphazard orchestra in whose music he was obliged to find the wine that his muscles live by. Anyone who has seen Mr. Lifar dance in proper surroundings knows that he moves in music as a swimmer in water. He is, perhaps, not a great enough artist to dance, without music, the theme that child factory labor is a shame (though I confess that some of his beautiful understandings expressed in movement might lead me to even more concern about the happy rights of children). I am not sure that he could convey this thought even if he wore gray flannel breeches and made sincere dull gestures. He had with him, also, a small company, very small and very weak, that would stop a clock, just as Mr. Jooss at times seemed to have a clock that stopped his company. Since the ambitious "Prometheus" called for everything, décor, dancers, music, and got so little, I have no feeling that I saw it at all. Under the circumstances Mr. Lifar made a mistake to try it.

Wherever, therefore, the impression or success of a number depended to any extent on his support, Mr. Lifar came

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off badly. In those parts of "Le Chat," the modern offering for the evening, he was, whenever the rest of the dancers got out of the way, often fresh, clear and stimulating. In (out of four) the two numbers where he was left a chance, "L'Après-midi d'un Faune" and "Le Spectre de la Rose," he presented, though seldom at his best even in these, what we have not seen here in a long time. The choreography of the "Faune" is by Nijinsky, of the other composition by Fokine.

Comparing Mr. Lifar to Nijinsky is one of those futile affairs like speaking of Goldoni as the Italian Molière or Largillière as the French Van Dyke. Nijinsky, whom I saw many times in Europe as well as over here—when he so often let down his mood out of sheer boredom and annoyance—gave to "L'Après-midi d'un Faune" a marvelous exotic quality. With the help of admirable music, dancers, and a décor in the archaic manner, he created his own incredible marvel. Mr. Lifar in this composition, especially in the first part, when he was not obliged to depend on the other dancer, created his own original thing, a very fine pose, a magnificent and simplified animality, beautiful modulation within a set, half-archaic limit, and a tension and concentration of the most effective vitality. In "Le Spectre de la Rose," he was, despite the imposition of his surroundings, often the whole lyric softness and joy of life, of the dream forever. The final truth left out in "The Green Table," for all its sincere proposition, is the splendor and rose of life. For after all, what survives from that mélée of councils, war and death in Mr. Jooss' composition is the impulse and fullness of life that would, if the occasion arose, repeat the whole adventure, the elevation, despair, bitter rapture, blood and onrush of it all. Such a pervading motif might have lessened the argument, but it would have increased the human truth of "The Green Table." This connects subtly with such art as Mr. Lifar's, which continues, not repeats, this essence, outside Green Table." This connects subtly with the Russian school and with its dancing, which seeks to remain within an essence and shine of life.

STARK YOUNG.

Labor and the N. R. A.

AFTER more than three weeks of unexampled anti-labor violence, the strike of 10,000 cotton pickers in central California has been ended—or, rather, broken—by what The San Francisco Chronicle terms "a mailed fist." No brief summary can adequately portray the brutal and lawless manner in which the strike was put down, though some idea can be gained from the fact that, in three weeks, four strikers were shot and killed by ranchers and local officials, forty-two were wounded, and more than a hundred were imprisoned on charges of criminal syndicalism, vagrancy and rioting. In addition, nine members of the strikers' tent city at Corcoran, mostly children, died of malnutrition—the result of efforts by growers and relief officials to starve the pickers into submission.

Despite the intervention of the National Labor Board, represented by George Creel, the pickers gained little from the strike. They won an increase of fifteen cents a hundred pounds for picking cotton (they were striking for a rate of a dollar a hundred pounds—an increase of forty cents) but their demands for recognition of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union and for release of imprisoned strikers were denied. The growers, on the other hand, have received assurance from federal and state officials that further strike activities will be prohibited and that relief will be denied those who refuse to work. Meanwhile, to forestall a threatened epidemic of typhoid, state authorities have burned the strikers' camp at Corcoran to the ground. Thus the 4,000 pickers and their families encamped there (they were virtually held under armed guard) have been forced either to return to the cotton fields or to move on to other localities. The U. S. Employment Bureau in Los Angeles has aided in breaking the strikers' morale by sending more than 1,000 strike breakers to take the places of the dissatisfied pickers.

A fact-finding commission appointed by Governor Rolph, after investigating the lawless treatment of cotton pickers by growers and local officials, reported that "without question the civil rights of the strikers have been violated. We appeal to the constituted authorities to see that the strikers are protected in rights conferred upon them by state and federal Constitutions." One may seriously doubt, however, that this resolution will afford the workers any protection. All strike leaders have been ordered to leave the troubled area. If they remain, they are threatened with arrest on sight, since scores of John Doe and Jane Doe warrants, charging criminal syndicalism and vagrancy, have been obtained from the courts by local officials. As The San Francisco Chronicle reports, "authorities of five counties intend to arrest strike leaders, set a heavy bail and continue cases from day to day so that by the time the trials are scheduled the crop will have been harvested." As a further means of intimidating the workers the Ku Klux Klan has been revived. The Visalia Times-Delta of October 28 even went so far as to advocate editorially that the Klan should take a leading part in suppressing strike activities. In Bakersfield, the American Civil Liberties Union has been denied the use of the public school for a meeting to discuss the strike—unless all speeches are submitted and approved in advance. These efforts, of course, desperate though they be, are likely only to prolong the final settlement of the issues involved. For similar labor trouble is now threatened in the citrus orchards where a crop will soon be ready for picking. Eastern newspapers, it is worth observing, have carried almost nothing on this strike, though it has been a front-page story in California for well over a month.

When workers are permitted to elect their representatives by secret ballot, independent unions seem quite definitely to be favored over the company unions which employers have tried to force on labor during the past twenty years. A most significant test of this preference occurred recently in Denver, where miners employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company voted 877 to 273 for affiliation with the United Mine Workers of America. This vote, according to Louis Stark, labor reporter of The New York Times, sounded "the death knell of the employee-representation plan associated for the last twenty years with the name of John D. Rockefeller." In some twenty similar elections, under the supervision of the National Labor Board, work-

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ers have followed the example of the Colorado miners and voted, in a large majority of cases, for the independent union. The exceptions have been mainly among employees of smaller companies. The results in these secret elections throw some light on the recent bitter attack, by a group of manufacturers, on the policies of the National Labor Board, "to prevent the development of sound systems of employment relations."

Two weeks ago Samuel Hoffman, a waiter in New York City, achieved national prominence by hauling his employer, a restaurant proprietor, into court for failure to pay the $15 minimum wage of the President's reëmployment agreement. Mr. Hoffman won the suit and a judgment of $59 for back pay, but the prominence of the case, as a precedent for similar actions, has turned the victory, so far as Hoffman is concerned, into a distinct liability. He has lost his job as waiter and, it appears, has been blacklisted by other restaurateurs, so that he has been unable to obtain new work. "As soon as I go in and ask for a job," he complained to Grover Whalen, city N.R.A. administrator, "they ask me my name and when I tell them they refuse to talk with me any further." A boycott of this character, Mr. Whalen informed him, "is in direct violation of the basic principles of the N.R.A. You performed a patriotic and public-spirited service when you sued for the difference between what you actually received and what you should have received under the President's agreement. This is a good opportunity to see how many restaurants there are in the city ready to back up the President." As we go to press, Mr. Hoffman, with a wife and six children dependent on him, is still without a job.

CORRESPONDENCE

Smashing the Securities Act

SIR: News stories in Colonel McCormick's Chicago Tribune seem to indicate that the industrialists are adopting a new strategy in their fight against the Securities Act. "Securities Act Forcing Firms to Raid Tills" is the heading of a recent story which plainly implies in the text that if employees do not support the industrialists in their attempt to force a change in the Securities Act, they very likely will lose their jobs.

If the industrialists have nothing to hide, as they claim they have not, why do they resent the Act?

Chicago, Ill. EUGENE FUNASTON.

Insull: The Maid of Athens

SIR: It might be of value to point out certain things in relation to the extradition of Samuel Insull in Greece, a move which has now failed. When I was in Europe recently, I was told on good authority that it was Sir Basil Zaharoff, the munitions manufacturer, a native of Greece, who arranged to have Insull go to Greece and who arranged also to have the extradition proceedings nullified by the court. "You go down to Athens and stay there," Sir Basil is supposed to have told Insull. Zaharoff's part in the diplomacy of Europe is, of course, a subject for frequent wild speculation, but his power is undoubtedly immense. My informant said further that Zaharoff's interest in Insull was not purely that which might grow out of a fellow feeling, a kind of camaraderie. It sprang from the very practical fact of Zaharoff's interest, his controlling interest, in the great British munitions and utility firm, Metropolitan-Vickers, which in turn is allied with certain firms in America with which Insull was associated.

Subsequently this was in part printed in America—the rumor that Zaharoff had saved Insull, but not the reason which makes it seem plausible, that is, the international ramifications of capital. I do not offer this as fact, but merely as a highly interesting supposition, showing how capital conceals its crimes. For further revelations of the power of Sir Basil Zaharoff your readers may care to read the extraordinary articles in the May and June issues of The Living Age.

St. Louis, Mo. MARQUIS W. CHILDS.

From Contented Pens?

SIR: George Milburn, in his review of "Life in the United States," makes the mistaken assumption that the editors of Scribner's Magazine, in asking for the contributions which appear in this book, had specified that they should give "a wholesome and contented picture of life." A reader of this review could not help but assume that the book was not impartial, in which case it would be practically valueless.

The fact is as stated in the publisher's note prefacing the volume, that the narratives of which it is composed "are the result of a prize offered by Scribner's Magazine for the best article representing a first-hand experience or observation from American life." This alone was asked.

This publisher's note later states that the idea of the contest originated in a very common criticism that leading American fiction "did not represent the American scene" and that "the editors hoped by appealing to those who were not professional writers, to discover a more wholesome and contented picture." In other words, what the editors were out to do was to discover whether the criticism made by numerous "old subscribers," etc., was true or not. They made no attempt to influence contributors. Their hope was a very faint one in the beginning, and the fact that they gave the prize to "Oklahoma Race Riot," of which Mr. Milburn asks, "Where . . . can be found a more depressing or brutal scene?" certainly evinces the impartiality of the editors themselves.

We bring this matter to your attention only because we think the book an important one (Mr. Milburn, too, seems to think highly of it), and it would be a great pity if it should be injured for readers of The New Republic by this misunderstanding.

The contributions are utterly genuine answers to an unqualified request for experiences and observations from American life. The several thousand others, if they were all published together, would give very much the same impression that this collection of twenty-six gives.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

New York City.

A New Film School

SIR: We are confident your readers will be glad to hear of the establishment of a Film School named in honor of Harry Alan Potamkin, whose death last July meant the loss of the most advanced cinema critic America has produced.

The Harry Alan Potamkin Film School is to be a workshop for the study of motion pictures by actual projects. Students will participate in the exhibition and production of movies. Classes in "History of the Movie," "Film Criticism," "Technique of Camera, Lighting, Projection" and "Production" (scenario, cutting, mounting) will be given two nights a week for five months. Tuition fee is based on whether the student is employed or not. Registration closes on November 20.

The Film School is sponsored by the New York branch of the National Film and Photo League, the only organization which uses films and photos for *exposing* those conditions of life ordi-

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narily untreated or distorted by the film industry. Newsreels and short documentary films on Unemployment and the Fight for Unemployed Insurance, The Scottsboro Case, Strikes, Attacks on Civil Rights, War Preparations, have been made or are being completed.

Readers of The New Republic are invited to join both the Film School in New York (116 Lexington Avenue) and The Film and Photo League of New York. Addresses of The Film and Photo Leagues of Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco will be sent on request. Contributions of funds, films, equipment, film books and magazines will help carry on.

TOM BRANDON, Director,
New York City. Harry Alan Potamkin Film School.

An Author Protests

SIR: The repeated instances of authors utilizing my material, method of presentation of historic facts, analytical deductions and their subsequent conclusions, from my copyrighted articles on the American Revolution, the American Flag, the Declaration of Independence, *Washington Crossing the Delaware* and particularly the treason episode of the Revolution in which Benedict Arnold, Aaron Burr, Major John André and Peggy Shippen played such prominent parts, have called forth a vigorous protest to your magazine.

Thus, in the first edition of "Revolution—1776," by John Hyde Preston, which was reviewed in The New Republic of May 10, no credit was given to me whatsoever for my revelations as to Peggy Shippen. In the second edition, however, appears the following footnote on page 337:

> For the revelations of the part Peggy Shippen Arnold played in General Arnold's treason, which is here repeated, the author acknowledges indebtedness to E. Irvine Haines and his copyrighted writings on Peggy Shippen, notably in The New York Times Magazine, January 31, 1932.

In view of future articles to appear about Aaron Burr and Peggy Shippen, as well as other work now in the course of production in collaboration with eminent historians and authors, I consider that my protest at this time is well justified and as a protection to my colleagues as well as to myself.

Queens Village, L. I. E. IRVINE HAINES.

The Good Old Daze

SIR: *It does my heart good to see an internationalist like my* old friend Michael Gold strike out in defense of his own race. He reminds me a little of Edmond McAlpine, that Irishman, who worked with Mike and me years ago on the copy desk of the old New York Call. McAlpine, too, was a thoroughgoing Bolshevik, and he, too, most enthusiastically defended his own race, thumping that copy desk with his fist until Sep Wilson's eye-glasses fell off his nose. And how they laughed at the bourgeois in me when I defended the Norwegians! Mac, to tell the truth, suspected Mike was "at bottom" a damned nationalist; and Mike suspected that Mack, "at bottom," was the same. Ah, the dear dead days! My old eyes fill with tears, and out of my remembering love for him I urge the following words from the pen of Ludwig Lewisohn to Mike's attention—and to Mac's, too, for that matter, if it so happens that he, way out in Australia, happens to see these words:

> Many young Jews became Communists because they were not wholly members of the communities in which they lived and yet refused for various unhappy reasons to be in any full sense members of that Jewish community into which they were born and which was their natural haven and home and social and religious framework. Hence they escaped into the substitute of Communism, recreating that movement in the image of their Jewish souls with which essentially it had nothing to do. . . . Some day the real Communists would find that out, even as various Socialist parties in Europe had already found it out. When that day came a not wholly unjustified anti-Semitism would arise in the Communist ranks. For when it came to stamping out opposition in blood and dirt and murdering bourgeois and intellectual or starving them to death, the Jews, except for a few utter perverts and spiritual renegades, would simply not be there—not on the spot! . . . Communism in action was, like war a *Goyim-naches*—a Gentile sport or pleasure. . . .

I suggest that if Mike had thought of it he might very well have pointed out to Mr. MacLeish that far from being a Jewish movement, Communism is a *Goyim-naches!* Alas, I am pensive. I hear again how Jack Reed laughed at Mac's "Hahm-sandwich" joke; and I would that Mike and Mac and Jack and I could be together for a little while in the Eighth Street flat or in Milligan Place; and Jack would praise Adventure, and Mac, Ireland, and Mike, the Jews, and I would listen; or I might praise the Norwegians—but only a very little.

NORMAN MATSON.

Westerly, R. I.

Extracts from Letters

AN APPEAL for a code for teachers arrives from Martha Pilgar, of New York City, who asks that all teachers should organize themselves to protect their interests. Miss Pilgar points out that the N.R.A. does not protect teachers because schools and colleges are regarded as non-profit-making ventures. She asks Mrs. Roosevelt to take some action in behalf of the 80,000 or more unemployed teachers and she thinks that something might be done if all the unemployed teachers should write to the President's wife, asking the government to draw up a code for teachers immediately.

Donald Davidson writes to us to correct a mistake in Horace Gregory's article on Shelley in our issue of October 11. In this article Mr. Gregory referred to "I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition" as an "anthology." It was, Mr. Davidson points out, not an anthology but a symposium. "The book," says Mr. Davidson, "is not my private property. It belongs to John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Frank Owsley, Robert Penn Warren, Stark Young, John Gould Fletcher, Lyle Lanier, Andrew N. Lytle, Herman C. Nixon, Henry Blue Kline, John Donald Wade, as well as to me; and, in a larger sense, to the very considerable number of Southerners who decline to be rushed off their feet by the old Babbitts of capitalistic industrialism or the new Babbitts of state socialism."

Further fuel to the controversy precipitated by a statement in Edmund Wilson's article which we published September 13, arrives from E. E. Ericson of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, who writes us that in the South "housewives commonly churn whole milk; in fact most of our churns are 'big boys,' to permit such churning. In the West and North milk is separated or skimmed and the cream only used for churning."

E. Rotus of New York City sends in a letter pointing out certain discrepancies in John T. Flynn's statement that "the Securities Act does not apply to railroad securities." He writes that though the Act "exempts any security issued by a common carrier, nevertheless such exemption is limited by subsequent provisions of the Act . . . which provide that any person who sells a security, other than government, state or municipal securities, whether or not exempted by the provisions of Section 3 . . . shall be liable to the person purchasing such security from him for any untrue statement of a material fact or for omission to state a material fact and that the seller must assume the burden of proof that he did not know and could not reasonably have known of such truth or omission." Our correspondent points out, furthermore, that the liability the seller assumes "subjects him to a burden which I should think few, if any, bankers . . . would care to assume."

I. Ehrlich, secretary of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians of New York City, writes in to correct an error which appeared in a communication we published from his organization. He says that the letter inaccurately stated that Charles Schwab was president of the American Society of Civil Engineers. Mr. Schwab was at one time president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. Mr. Ehrlich adds in his letter that his organization is progressing rapidly and that they have organizers in seventy cities throughout the country.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

A Tale of Righteous Bandits [1]

AS THE bird feels towards the net that has entangled it, so do men at all times feel towards those that rule them." So runs an old Chinese saying. For the bird that breaks through the meshes and struggles out into freedom, for the countless outlaws who in every period of Chinese history have purchased, at the price of hardship and persecution, the right to live as they chose, the people —peering awe-stricken through the bars of respectability— have always felt the deepest admiration. Minorities were more fortunate than they are in Europe today. Large parts of China were sparsely inhabited, and it was no difficult matter to reach mountain fastnesses that were all but impregnable. Here the material conditions were no doubt even less good than in the concentration camp (which is becoming the home of minorities in Europe today), but the Chinese outlaw had at any rate the inestimable advantage of freedom.

These outlaw camps were recruited not only from the political opponents of "those that rule," but also from a particular class of "knights errant," chivalrous redressers of private wrongs, who become conspicuous in Chinese legend as early as the third century B.C. To this clan, for example, belongs Lu Ta, who plays so important a part in the present story. Fired by indignation at the way in which a butcher has mishandled an unfortunate singing-girl, Lu Ta takes the law into his own hands and, having picked a quarrel with the butcher, pummels him "till the breath came out, but did not go in." That was the end of the butcher and the beginning of Lu Ta's life as a hunted outlaw. The robbers with whom this book deals were, then, something after the nature of Robin Hood and his merry men; violent and drastic in their methods, but always on the side of "right" as opposed to "law." The most celebrated of all Righteous Bandits in Chinese legend was a certain Sung Chiang, who flourished in the early years of the twelfth century. He is an actual, historical personage and we know that his band was popularly supposed to consist of thirty-six men. I cannot help feeling, however, that a certain element of legend has crept even into the account of him provided by the very sober Sung History (Chapter LI), for it is difficult to believe that "an official army several tens of thousands strong was unable to contend with him." A suggestion was made (this, too, we know from the Sung History) that Sung Chiang should be offered a free pardon on condition that he help the government to put down the other robber bands that were troubling the authorities at the moment. We do not know whether this offer was ever made. But in the legend, as it exists from the thirteenth-century records, there is a sort of aftermath to the story, in which the Righteous Bandits turn upon and destroy the other bandits (who were of course unrighteous), and so escape at last from their outlaw condition and are readmitted to respectable society. Mrs. Buck (whose account of the concluding chapters is quite different from mine) translates from a version which omits this aftermath. In doing so I think she has acted very wisely, for the book is quite long enough as it stands.

This is a book which consists entirely of action. Knotted clubs are perpetually brandished, skulls cracked, blood drawn in bucketfuls. It is a book of furtive journeys, mysterious inns and surprising encounters with beasts and men. The anthropologist will find much to interest him:

> Then he took out his girdle knife and went to Li Kuei and cut off two pieces of flesh from his leg. He washed the flesh in water, then he lit the fuel in the oven and cooked it. And as he cooked, he ate, and when he had eaten himself full, he threw Li Kuei's dead body under the house. Then he set fire to the house and, taking up his sword, he went towards the small path on the mountain.

There is a great deal of Taoist magic, often strangely recalling that of the Tibetan and Mongolian wizards encountered in the pages of Ossendowsky. There is, for example, what the Tibetans call a *lungompo,* or "trance-walker," who "would by his magic skill walk nearly two hundred miles a day."

I find myself at variance with the translator at a great many points. She says herself that the translation "does not pretend to be a scholar's effort," and I have no desire to plague the reader of this review with academic quibblings. But I do feel inclined to raise a mild protest when Mrs. Buck says, on page 1,088, that P'êng Tsu (the Chinese Methuselah) died at the age of thirty-two; and when, on page 73, she talks of Buddhist priests "sacrificing to the gods." Also, though I heartily agree with her that the poems are "doggerel in translation," I do not at all agree that they merit this name in the original. Finally, I want to point out that there exist two previous translations which would have been of great assistance to the translator and saved her from many errors, had she had access to them. The first is the Manchu translation and the second is the Japanese translation prepared in 1728 by an official interpreter whose duties brought him into daily contact with Chinese merchants.

ARTHUR WALEY.

[1] All Men Are Brothers, by Shui Hu Chuan. Translated by Pearl S. Buck. New York: The John Day Company. $6.50.

The War to End Civilization

What Would be the Character of a Future War? An Inquiry Organized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Geneva. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 442 pages. $2.50.

WHAT WILL be the tactics and strategy and human results of that next war of which the world stands in dread? These are the questions which the eighteen contributors to this symposium attempt to answer —for the most part in a clear, logical and terrifying fashion.

The subjects discussed are: the general military character of a future war; the "war potential" and its relation to actual war preparation; war industry and its relation to peace industries; the psychological, demographic, economic and financial aspects of war; the future of the international law of war. The eighteen contributors include generals, statesmen, natural scientists, economists, publicists. One of the most notable papers, that on chemical and bacteriological warfare, is contributed by a woman, Dr. Gertrud Johanna Woker, professor of Physico-Chemical Biology at the University of Berne.

In the compass of a brief review it is impossible even to indicate the wealth of information and instruction contained in the symposium. I shall therefore confine myself

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to a highly condensed presentation of the leading facts and ideas concerning the character of a future war, the demographic aspects, and the organization of war industry.

How will the next war be fought?—General Réquin, obviously expressing the views of the French General Staff, presents a theory of the strategy and tactics of the next war that is, perhaps, too general and too abstract for the layman. It is also too reserved. The question, for example, whether international engagements, like the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Paris Pact, will be respected, is left unanswered: "Such are the unknown political factors of the problem."

On the contrary, the German General von Metzsch is most explicit: "No legal consideration will stand when the vital interests of a nation are at stake." War will immediately be carried into the enemy country by means of massed air raids. The destructive power of large-scale air attacks is a hundred times greater now than it was in the World War, and can be carried out in a fraction of the time needed then. Surprise, the very essence of intelligent warfare, will thereby be greatly aided. The aerial arm permits a maximum of effect with a minimum of men. Indeed, the British General Fuller tells us that, to bomb a great city, it is possible to send over it two hundred *unmanned* airplanes controlled by, say, ten manned ones flying at a distance from them or at a high altitude above them. The human element is the weakest link in the chain of modern, mechanized warfare. An airman is no more eager to face bullets from anti-aircraft defenses than an infantryman is to face machine-gun bullets. But an unmanned airplane is

> a flying projectile—a true aerial torpedo—which will explode on impact with the ground, or be exploded by a wireless wave released by the airman directing it. . . . In place of shooting down human beings, the defender with his guns will bring down upon his city vast nerveless projectiles—in place of protecting the city, each hit scored will throw it into panic.

In such a war, there will be no front, no rear, no home front. Everybody and everything will be involved. Large cities and extensive areas will be annihilated, millions of human lives will be snuffed out in a few hours by a gas-bombing attack. All protective and rescue measures are foredoomed to futility. The only effective reply is retaliation over enemy territory. There will be no warfare of positions, as in the World War. Every position can be forced by superior strength in tanks, airplanes and chemicals. The outcome of a battle will be annihilating victory or utter disaster, not merely success or failure of the attack. Mere numerical strength is a minor factor; it is the quality of armament and the skill with which it is handled that will count most. The best soldiers will come from the machine shop, not the drill square. When the Versailles Treaty imposed upon Germany a small professional army, it provided a foundation for German military superiority.

Long wars may cause social upheavals. Will the short wars of the future avoid this consequence? The destructiveness of the future short war will be greater than that of past long wars. Internal convulsions are bound to accompany it or to follow from it, and they may be as destructive as the wars themselves. Civil war has always been the acutest form of war.

Demographic effects.—The future war will destroy great cities, annihilate entire populations in a short space of time. Nearly all the writers in the book are agreed on this point (the others do not mention it). But the statement is too general, and lies too much in the future, to convey the full effect of such a war on the human race. A more detailed, and therefore more intelligible, statement is given by Professor Hersch, of the University of Geneva.

All wars reduce the marriage and birth rates, while they increase the death rate not only among the combatants, but also among non-combatants, among neutrals as well as among the belligerents. All wars are accompanied or followed by epidemics of various kinds. This holds true of comparatively small and short wars, like those of 1866 and 1870-1, no less than of a World War. But in the last War all these effects were naturally intensified and multiplied. The death rate *of civilians* increased in France from 17.6 per 1,000 in 1912-13 to 22 in 1918, in Germany from 15.7 to 18.9, in England from 13.6 to 17.6, in Italy from 18.3 to 33. At the same time the birth rate decreased in France from 18.4 in 1913-14 to 12.2 in 1918, in Germany from 27.2 to 14.3, in England from 23.9 to 17.7, and in Italy from 31.1 to 21.4. In all the neutral countries of Europe the diminished birth rate, as well as the increasing death rate, was marked, though smaller than in the warring countries.

The characteristic epidemic of the World War was influenza, which carried off altogether about *fifteen million* people. But besides the dominant epidemic, there were also in many countries epidemics of typhus, typhoid fever, smallpox, dysentery, malaria, plague and cholera. Deaths from tuberculosis increased everywhere. The grand total of military deaths was over 13 million, of civilian deaths caused indirectly by the War, over 28 million, and the list is still incomplete.

As a result of the War, the number of inhabitants in France of French nationality was lower in 1921 than in 1866 (37,660,000 against 38,080,000). The balance of the sexes was so entirely upset that, just after the War, there was no man for one-fifth of French women of from twenty-five to thirty years of age, and for one-fourth of German women of the same age.

The population of Western Europe is tending more and more to become stationary. Another great war will be an irreparable catastrophe for the white race.

War Industries.—In an illuminating paper Professor Delaisi points out that modern war industry is dependent on four great industries—iron and steel, chemical, electrical and petroleum. The production of these is confined to two belts in Western Europe and North America (the Soviet Union is ignored). Four great nations are therefore the masters of war supplies: Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States. No other nation can wage war without their consent. No other nation can defend its independence without their support. These are, therefore, the sovereign nations of the globe. All others are in reality their vassals. But the vassalage of the agricultural states is veiled by the freedom of trade in arms.

This trade is, on the face of it, an anomaly, a paradox. It is to the interest of every state to maintain a monopoly of war supplies and, in particular, of new military inventions, and yet every state encourages the trade in arms, the sale of its latest inventions. The explanation of the paradox is to be found in the fact that no state is rich enough to maintain an exclusive war industry, which nowadays is but a special application of the peace industries. On the one hand, it cannot immobilize so vast a capital. On the other hand, absolute control of war industry would

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necessarily entail an equal control over peace industries, and that would mean the end of private capitalism in all key industries. Only a socialist state like the Soviet Union can realize such control in time of peace. The demand of the pacifist that the manufacture and sale of arms be declared a state monopoly thus amounts to a demand for the abolition of private capitalism. The alternative is either socialism or state capitalism.

Professor Delaisi expects the world economic crisis, through the impoverishment of peoples and governments, to bring about universal disarmament. Thus far there is no sign of this coming to pass. General Fuller appears to be on firmer ground when he concludes that the evolution of war weapons must end in the abolition of war. But the social process is not a process of abstract logic. Given the "inner" necessity for the abolition of war, there must be powerful social groups and classes for whom it is a question of life and death and who are resolved, at all hazards, to achieve it.

Nor is this all. Just as we have seen that war production is a function of peace production, so war itself is a function of the entire social and political organization. To achieve a state of permanent peace, Europe, the center of the war menace, must be reorganized socially and politically. A United States of Europe must take the place of its twenty-six states armed to the teeth. The recent triumphs of fascism point in the opposite direction. The victorious counter-revolution neither will nor can give peace to Europe and the world. HERMAN SIMPSON.

Gorky as Publicist

On Guard for the Soviet Union, by Maxim Gorky. New York: International Publishers. 173 pages. $1.50.

GORKY'S mind is a blunt instrument for controversy: he has little skill at handling an argument. In these newspaper articles, he is often merely reiterating the slogans and principles of the Soviets without adding to them very much that is original. When he is writing as an official spokesman, he seems to take it pretty straight from the Bureau of Propaganda, and he sometimes allows the machinery of propagandist thinking to run him into fantastic statements. For example, "I know that war is organized by capitalists in order to assure a state of affairs which makes the daily brutalities of 'peacetime' seem quite natural." And his invective seems sometimes overdone—not because the White émigrés and the intellectuals who attack the Soviets, at whom most of these papers are aimed, do not provide admirable occasions for invective, but because the clichés of Communist vituperation do not always come quite convincingly from the author of "The Lower Depths." Especially when he suddenly lapses into such an unpropagandist aside as the following, more eloquent than much of his rhetoric: "If I am being brutal, if I am using sharp language, it does not mean that I am hurt or want to hurt anybody. Nor does it mean that I forget how miserable people are, how difficult life is for them, how little they can be reproached for their stupidity and greediness. I am not angry but I hate the past; and very often I cannot find words harsh enough to express this hatred."

In spite of this, however, this collection constitutes perhaps the most compelling defense of communism which has yet reached us from a Russian writer. Gorky knows well all the pretentious subterfuges to which the intellectual world has recourse to fight off the socialist future:

> Passive romanticism presupposes that were the individual to exclude himself from the sphere of social problems and questions and plunge headlong into the capricious game of introspection, he would regain, in this very seclusion, his lost entity, his "inner harmony." But by shutting up the individual within himself, passive romanticism only quickens the process of his destruction. One must be very naïve to believe in the possibility of a "beautiful life" under the disgusting conditions of class society, under conditions of universal anarchic warfare, of envy, greed, forced and often senseless toil.

And:

> The ideas of a possible reversion to the epoch of barbarism is now "quite the fashion" among the modern bourgeois. The Spenglers, the Caillaux and other "thinkers" of this type reflect the feelings of thousands of petty-bourgeois—feelings of alarm, provoked by the presentiment of class peril, by the fact of the growing revolutionary consciousness of the working masses throughout the world.

This last theme one would like to see developed. It is true that the imminence of new dark ages has become one of the main excuses of those who do not want to contemplate the coming of socialism. It is the alibi which people fall back on who are too intelligent to believe in fascism or too tolerant and humane to desire it. For persons who have already been so fortunate as to enjoy the best our culture has to offer and who are far enough along in life to feel sure that they will not witness its ruin, it is easy to support the notion of illiterate and half-naked descendants prowling around the ruins of the Louvre, the British Museum and the Pennsylvania Station. Besides, their imaginations do not deal readily with the present and the future; they do not gauge the enormous differences between the world during the decline of Rome and the world at the present time. Not long ago someone was telling me that one of our most liberal and genuinely distinguished public figures was becoming apprehensive of such a collapse—asserting that, though civilization did seem unquestionably to be suffering from the *impasses* which the Marxists have diagnosed, he considers these latter overoptimistic in supposing that the working class will be competent to play a decisive role. Even Shaw of late years has been cultivating this vision of a twilight of civilization.

To such doubts, Gorky opposes an affirmation.

"They see all the difficulties that confront you," he writes in an address to the people of Soviet Georgia, "but they are afraid to see all your gigantic achievements which will soon make your life easy and beautiful"—

> If the intellectuals of Europe and America, instead of listening to scandal-mongers, instead of trusting traitors, gave serious and honest thought to the historical significance of the process which is developing in the Soviet Union, they would understand that the object of this whole process is the assimilation of the invaluable treasures of universal culture by a nation of 160 million people. They would understand that this nation labors not only for itself but for all humanity, at the same time revealing to mankind that miracles may be accomplished by the intelligently organized will of the masses.

At the end of his letter to American intellectuals who have written him complaining about or questioning his stand, he puts the issues as follows: "It is time for you to decide on which side you are, 'masters of culture'! Are you for the elemental labor force of culture and for the

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creation of new forms of life, or are you against this force, and for the preservation of the caste of irresponsible plunderers, the caste which is decaying from its head down and is continuing its existence only by inertia?"

EDMUND WILSON.

Hostesses

Crowded Hours, by Alice Roosevelt Longworth. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 341 pages. $3.

Dolly Gann's Book, by Dolly Gann. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 250 pages. $2.50.

ANYONE stimulated by the rumor that Mrs. Longworth's "Crowded Hours" contains the spicy low-down on persons and politics absent from the bowdlerized *Ladies' Home Journal* version is doomed to disappointment. The book is nothing if not wholesome. There is indeed a touch of malice here and there, and there are such revelations as "Harding was not a bad man. He was just a slob," but this is hardly front-page news today, nor is "slob" an authentic shocker. There is also Mrs. Longworth's comment apropos of the Gann-Longworth precedence dispute: "It seems to me the word hostess has lost its meaning or acquired a new one since its association with night clubs and hotels." But not all of Mrs. Longworth's judgments are unkind—far from it. She enjoyed meeting King Alphonso: "He was so interested and keen about his 'job' [her quotes] that it always seems a pity he had to lose it." She enjoyed other famous people and places and, above all, herself and is disarmingly candid about everything. She was at times a bit of a goose, but she is so thoroughly aware of it that pointing it out seems redundant rather than unkind. She has written an entertaining and unpretentious book marked by a good taste and reticence about her personal life which the blurbs hardly led us to expect.

As for Dolly Gann, she did her duty as a hostess and liked it. This, chiefly, is what her book is all about.

MARTHA GRUENING.

Books in Brief

HISTORY

THE ENGLISH ECCENTRICS, by Edith Sitwell. *Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 325 pages. $4.*

Miss Sitwell nowhere gives a definition of eccentricity sufficiently broad to cover all the instances she gives in this book. Eccentricity, she says in effect, is an exaggeration of common attitudes, a protest against life, a splendid will toward death, a grotesque distortion of one's shadow. *It is "the triumph over the material* world," of "those who create for themselves heavens . . . gestures, arising from nothing, drifting into nothing, melting like snow." It is the sense of infallibility running amok. However this may be, her galaxy includes the most varied grotesques, from the believe-it-or-not variety to well known historic characters: hermits, amateur and professional, quacks and alchemists, conjurers, astrologers, simpletons and sages, impostors and travelers, fanatics of sport and fashion, religious racketeers. One is somewhat pained to find Herbert Spencer and Margaret Fuller in this company, but delighted with some of the others: Thomas Parr who first married at eighty and kept on marrying and begot a son at one hundred and twenty, the Countess of Desmond who climbed a tree at one hundred and forty, Lord Rokeby whose life was one continuous bath and beard, Dr. Van Butchell who had an embalmed wife and a purple-spotted pony, Jemmy Hirst who hunted on a bull with pigs for pointers, Dr. Graham in whose Celestial Bed the childless could become prolific at £100 per child, Father

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Harris whose strange religion also centered in a bed in which he "comforted" the young and beautiful among his female disciples, Professor Dorson, equally remarkable as drunkard and classicist, and Charles Waterton, most charming of all, a kindly soul, a grand seigneur of eccentricity, who had a soft spot for toads, vampires, vultures and sloths. Miss Sitwell plays the spiritual Barnum with zest and wit, and there are side shows too, with moon lore and the strange prescriptions for which she has already shown her fondness in her book on Bath. But only dusty laughter, as she says, arises from the antics of her freaks.

Psychology

MAN INTO WOMAN: An Authentic Record of Sex, edited by Niels Hoyer. *Translated by H. J. Stenning. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 300 pages. $3.50.*

A Danish painter named Einar Wegener was a male, until 1930. The process by which he became a woman began with a psychological change, which seems finally to have been complete. The painter posed as a female model for his wife; assumed, at times, women's clothing. Gradually the feminine in him took violent possession: he suffered bleedings, menstrual pains and a radical change in form. To save himself from destruction, he had himself castrated and relieved of his male burden. His marriage was annulled by the King of Denmark; he took the name of Lili Elbe. Lili Elbe died in 1931, after a further operation which was to make it possible for her to have children. The book was put together from papers left by Lili Elbe, and is filled with photographs of the man and the woman.

PSYCHOANALYSIS TODAY: Its Scop and Function, edited by Sándor Lorand. *New York: Covici-Friede. 385 pages. $4.25.*

There are twenty-five essays by various European and American authorities in this volume, recapitulating the history of psychoanalysis during the thirty years since Freud made his first contribution. They clearly reveal what in psychoanalysis has become fixed and solid, what remains fluid and inconstant, and what has proved fruitful in the fields of comparative religion, anthropology and criminology. The scope of the book is sufficiently wide to give to those who are only partially informed a general picture of the growth and development of psychoanalytical theory.

PSYCHOANALYSIS OF THE NEUROSES, by Helene Deutsch. *Translated by W. D. Robson-Scott. New York: Robert O. Ballou. 236 pages. $4.*

These lectures on various cases of hysteria, phobias and obsessional neuroses, are offered to supply students of psychoanalysis with a substitute for the clinical demonstrations which other methods of therapy can give directly. Methods of restoration are described, and Dr. Helene Deutsch's theoretical deductions from the cases are given. As the lectures show psychoanalysis in actual field work, the book provides a practical demonstration for students and general readers.

Science

THE LIMITATIONS OF SCIENCE, by J. W. N. Sullivan. *New York: The Viking Press. 307 pages. $2.75.*

"Science," writes Mr. Sullivan, "is not created by the scientific outlook; it is scientific knowledge that creates the outlook." This point, raised in connection with pre-Hellenic times, is well made, and is the underlying theme of his later chapters, in which are discussed the development of astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology and psychology. Mr. Sullivan's interest in science has always been primarily philosophical, and in this book he is concerned to show the humanistic, ethical and esthetic values of the domain—a point of view always popular but omewhat overworked at a time when science appears to be the only technique left capable of saving us from the wreckage of outworn beliefs. The author's view of Behaviorism exaggerates its obvious flaws, and makes the usual points against Pavlov (he shows no knowledge of the keener investigations of Bechterev or Luria); he tends to bracket the mechanist view of life with the admittedly tentative but honorable researches of Jacques Loeb; and his survey of biology gets

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very little beyond the elements of Mendelism, leaving quite untouched the immense field of biochemistry. Mr. Sullivan, for all his charm and sincerity, lacks a certain hardness and detachment in his interpretation of a very exacting subject.

Fiction

DARK MOON OF MARCH, by Emmett Gowen. *Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $2.*

Mr. Gowen writes of Southern mountaineers like a native who knows his neighbors well. Their illiteracy, feuds and moonshine, the points emphasized in most books written of them, hardly interest this writer at all. He digs to the core of his characters through their everyday activities and brings them to life, not as curiosities, but as human beings who struggle for existence handicapped by lack of education and healthy environment. "Dark Moon of March" is no social indictment; it is simply the story of Andrew's and his young wife's struggle for food and shelter. Andrew is a strong young fellow who can feel more keenly than he can think. As share croppers he and Ersie go from one farm to another, begetting children, dreaming of the time when they can have a house and land of their own. Nearly always they are frustrated by some circumstance that widens the gulf between themselves and their dream. Either Andrew picks a fight with the wrong person, some landlord takes unfair advantage of their poverty, or Ersie cannot prevent reproduction. This is a warm, live book, even though it conveys a deep note of futility.

FOOTNOTE TO YOUTH, by José Garcia Villa. *With an introduction by Edward J. O'Brien. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.*

In two of these stories Mr. Villa captures something of the simplicity of folk tales. "The Fence" tells of the long-drawn-out quarrel of two women in a Philippine village, and "Given Woman" revolves around a mother's promise, to her disappointed lover, that her daughter will be given to him in marriage. Otherwise Mr. Villa's stories are reminiscent of undergraduate literary magazine writing: they are filled with young people who go stalking off into the night, with violent unexplained moods of ecstasy and despair, with rows of dots to separate sentences. Now and then, in the autobiographical stories, one catches a glimpse of a young Filipino going to school in this country, bewildered and troubled by the complexity of life here, trying desperately to read some cosmic significance into his misundersandings with friends and his sense of isolation—almost as though the reality kept bursting forth in spite of the author's effort to mold it into conventional forms.

Contributors

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, assistant professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago and author of "International Politics" and other works, has for the past few months been investigating conditions in Germany.

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